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The Old French William of Tyre

By

Philip Handyside



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Dedicated to the memory of my parents
David George and Valerie Handyside
'Humanius est deridere vitam quam deplorare'
Seneca Minor, De Tranquillitate Animi, XV, 2



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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
ODS	Oxford Dictionary of Saints, ed. D.H. Farmer, Fifth Edition (Oxford, 2004)
Fo1–78	‘F’ numbers refer to the listing of manuscripts in J. Folda, ‘Manuscripts of the <i>History of Outremer</i> by William of Tyre: A Handlist’, <i>Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits</i> / <i>International Review of Manuscript Studies</i> , 27:1 (1973), pp. 92–95
Paris	Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continuateurs, ed. P. Paris, 2 vols (Paris, 1879–80)
RHC	Willermo Tyrensi. ‘Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum’, <i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux</i> , vol. 1 (Paris, 1844)
RHC Occ.	<i>Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux</i> , 5 vols (Paris, 1844–95)
WT	Willelmi Tyrensis. <i>Chronicon</i> , ed. R.B.C. Huygens, 2 vols (Turnholt, 1986)

Introduction

Historians of the crusades and the Latin East have long valued Archbishop William of Tyre's renowned history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, generally known as the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*.¹ William held important ecclesiastical and administrative positions in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, giving him access to key individuals in this period of the Latin East and to the official records of the kingdom that made his history so informative. As William is our main source for the history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem in the twelfth century any historian studying this subject has necessarily used William's work. However, despite its popularity with modern historians the Latin text of the *Historia* does not seem to have been particularly successful. It was only through an Old French translation that William's work reached a wide audience in medieval Europe.

While the Old French translation generally follows William's narrative, it contains many significant alterations to the text, which include additional material and on occasion a rather different view of the history of the Latin East from that provided by William. On the whole, historians have overlooked these differences. The purpose of this study will be to remedy this oversight and improve our understanding of the reception of William's *Historia*. In the first part we shall explore and analyse key differences between the texts in order to identify the translator and his motivations. The second part will discuss the manuscript development of the Old French text and draw attention to some later readings that have crept into the current printed editions and have misled modern scholars.

The title, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, is not William's own; it only appears in two of the Latin manuscripts that form a subgroup removed from the rest of the stemma. It would seem to have been added to the text in the West, since the phrasing implies a Western perspective on the Latin East.² Since whatever title William himself used does not appear to have survived, that of these manuscripts has come to be commonly accepted. P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe suggested *Historia Ierosolymitana* as being a more appropriate

1 For a historiographical discussion of William's work and its editions, see P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 3–8 [hereafter cited as Edbury and Rowe].

2 R.B.C. Huygens, 'La Tradition Manuscrite de Guillaume de Tyr', *Studi Medievali* 5 (1964), p. 315.

title, but the former title continues to hold sway.³ I shall henceforth refer to the Latin text as the *Historia* as a convenient shorthand.

What we know about William primarily comes from his work. While he made a few references to himself in the course of his *Historia* at points in which he was personally involved in the narrative, the most detailed discussion of his life is found in the autobiographical chapter, Book 19.12 in the Latin text. The presumed existence of this chapter was known to earlier historians, due to it being included in the chapter headings of several manuscripts, although the chapter itself had been lacking.⁴ However, a manuscript including this chapter was discovered by R.B.C. Huygens and brought to scholarly attention in 1962.⁵ As a result, we know something of William's early life and career, although details are missing and many questions remain unanswered. He tells us that he was born in Jerusalem and was deeply attached to his *patria*.⁶ Most of the chapter relates to the education that he had received during the almost twenty years he spent in the West. He notes that he returned from his studies in 1165, which would suggest that he left the Holy Land in 1146, and, in turn, places his birth around 1130.⁷ With regard to his education, he relates that he spent the time 'in paupertate voluntaria' [in willing poverty], studying the liberal arts, theology, canon law, and civil law under various masters in France and Italy.⁸ Despite his claims of being a poor, dedicated student, Edbury and Rowe have questioned how he was able to support himself during his two decades in the West and whether he received financial help from the East.⁹ Whatever these sources of funding may have been, William received a prebend at Acre upon his return to the Kingdom of Jerusalem and was soon receiving favours from King Amaury.¹⁰

Following his return to the East, William was able to cultivate royal favour into a successful ecclesiastical career. In 1167 he was made archdeacon of Tyre, 'presente et rogante domino rege et aliis multis honestis viris'¹¹ [in the presence

3 Edbury and Rowe, p. 1.

4 *RHC Occ.* 1 p. 902; cf. A.C. Krey, 'William of Tyre: The Making of An Historian in the Middle Ages', *Speculum* 16 (1941), pp. 150–151.

5 R.B.C. Huygens 'Guillaume de Tyr Étudiant: Un chapitre (XIX, 12) de son *Histoire Retrouvée*', *Latomus* 21 (1962), pp. 811–829.

6 WT, 19.12 lines 10–11.

7 Edbury and Rowe, p. 13.

8 WT, 19.12 lines 9–60.

9 Edbury and Rowe, p. 15.

10 WT, 19.12 lines 62–79; Edbury and Rowe, pp. 15–16.

11 WT, 20.1 line 25.

and at the request of the lord king and many other honest men]. He then served King Amaury as an envoy to the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos in 1168 in preparation for a proposed collaborative attack upon Egypt.¹² Amaury continued to show favour towards William, and, in 1170, made him tutor to his son Baldwin, the future King Baldwin IV of Jerusalem.¹³ It was as tutor to Baldwin that, as William relates, he was the first to notice the symptoms of what later was recognized as leprosy.¹⁴ Despite his royal patronage, he did encounter difficulties in his career. He relates that he had returned to the West in 1169 in order to avoid the ‘unmerited anger’ of Frederick, the archbishop of Tyre.¹⁵ Whether William was seeking to counter accusations being made against him or whether he was unwilling to take some action without the archbishop’s permission is uncertain.¹⁶ However, whatever the cause of this journey to Rome, it did not hinder his career significantly.

Following Baldwin IV’s coronation in 1174, the kingdom suffered divisions among the ruling elite. William showed a clear preference for the faction centred on Maria Comnena, King Amaury’s widow, and Raymond of Tripoli rather than on the group gathered around Agnes de Courtenay, the mother of Baldwin IV, and Renaud de Châtillon.¹⁷ William was to benefit from his association with Raymond when he was named chancellor of the kingdom later that year¹⁸ and again in 1175 when he was elected archbishop of Tyre.¹⁹ These offices gave William a prominent position in both the ecclesiastical and secular hierarchies in the kingdom. His access to the most significant figures of the period as well as to the official records is a major reason why many historians who use the *Historia* view him as being particularly well-informed and impartial.²⁰ William, however, was not always impartial.

To the medieval mind the Levant was very much the *terra promissionis*. As a native of Jerusalem, William must certainly have been moved by the rhetoric about his homeland; he regularly refers to his *patria*,²¹ and speaks often to the

12 WT, 20.4 lines 1–61.

13 WT, 21.1 lines 12–16.

14 WT, 21.1 lines 16–32; a well-known depiction of the scene is found in one of the manuscripts of the translation: London, British Library, Henry Yates Thompson MS 12, fol. 152v.

15 WT, 20.17 lines 32–35; *domini archiepiscopi nostri declinantes indignationem inmeritam, ad ecclesiam nos contuleramus Romanam*.

16 Edbury and Rowe, pp. 16–17.

17 Edbury and Rowe, pp. 17–18.

18 WT, 21.5 lines 63–67.

19 WT, 21.8 lines 75–81.

20 Krey, p. 162.

21 WT, Prologue line 67; 19.12 lines 8–11.

uniqueness of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the *Historia*.²² While care is needed in order to avoid reading too much partiality into William's work, he certainly defended the kingdom from criticism in the West. This is particularly evident in treatment of Baldwin IV, whose leprosy was seen in the West as punishment for Jerusalem from God.²³ The final chapter of William's work depicts a kingdom that had come through adversity but had been placed in the care of Raymond of Tripoli by the people and prelates of the kingdom due to his wisdom and his magnanimity.²⁴ He presents an optimistic picture of the kingdom in 1184, ignoring the illness of the king, the lack of an heir, and divisions within the kingdom. This expectation would prove to be unfounded when, in 1187, following the deaths of Baldwin IV and his nephew Baldwin V, the army of the Latin Kingdom was defeated at Hattin, and Jerusalem itself fell to Saladin. William did not live to see these events; for him, the prestige and validity of the Kingdom of Jerusalem remain a central tenet of the *Historia*.

William never altered his narrative by inventing episodes in order to give a more favourable portrayal of his *patria*, which would have been contrary to statements in his Prologue for the need of the historian to be truthful and diligent.²⁵ Instead, he subtly chose to remain silent or gloss over certain episodes, particularly in the case of factions within the court. The role of Renaud de Châtillon, for example, is undermined in the interest of providing Baldwin IV a more positive 'spin'. The translator of the *Historia*, in contrast, presented a more favourable view of Renaud, to be discussed subsequently in detail. William also gave only cursory attention to the patriarchal election of 1180. He simply relates that, ten days after the death of the patriarch, Amaury of Nesle, Heraclius, the archbishop of Caesarea, replaced him.²⁶ A later source, *La Chronique d'Ernoul*, provides details on the subject and relates that William was himself a candidate for the patriarchate. The author is favourable towards William and scathing in his criticism of Heraclius, alleging that Heraclius won the position only due to his close relationship with the king's mother, Agnes de Courtenay.²⁷ Details of this account may have become embellished in its retelling; a speech is ascribed to William, for example, on why Heraclius should not

22 D.W.T.C. Vessey, 'William of Tyre: Apology and Apocalypse', *Hommages à André Boutemy*, ed. Guy Cambier (Brussels, 1976), pp. 390–403.

23 Edbury and Rowe, pp. 61–84.

24 WT, 23.1 lines 50–56.

25 WT, Prologue lines 1–80.

26 WT, 22.4 lines 73–77.

27 *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard Le Trésorier*, ed. M.L. De Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), pp. 82–88.

be awarded the patriarchate due to his eschatological predictions. The author of the *Chronique's* prejudices are particularly evident, but the account nevertheless makes it clear that there was scandal and heated debate surrounding the election. By stating simply that Heraclius was elected, William may have been safeguarding the reputation of his *patria* in the West.²⁸

William's Latin has been rightly praised for displaying a complex and elegant style beyond that found in many contemporary Latin works and older histories of the First Crusade.²⁹ However, it is not only William's style of writing that gives his *Historia* its revered place in the study of the crusades; it is also his use of various sources, primary and secondary, to create his history of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Thus Runciman labelled William 'one of the greatest of medieval historians'.³⁰ The text can be divided roughly into two parts. In the first part William relies upon previous works and oral traditions. He used several different works, including Fulcher of Chartres, Raymond of Aguilers, and Baldric of Dol. He also makes extensive use of Albert of Aachen's chronicle up to the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, but then ceased to make use of this text. It is unknown whether this was because the manuscript William had access to stopped at this point or whether it was because he disagreed with Albert's view of Arnulf of Chocques, shortly to be elected patriarch of Jerusalem, as well as his hostile treatment of the papal legate Daibert of Pisa. By switching sources to Raymond of Aguilers, William avoided mention of Arnulf's role in preaching to the crusader army prior to the capture of Jerusalem and praise of his actions. William also may have used the *Gesta Francorum*, or a text derived from it, as well as works no longer extant.³¹ Events detailed in the second part of William's text fell within his lifetime, and he was able to introduce first-hand experiences to his narrative as well as those of prominent figures he was associated with. He also was able to supplement the narrative due to his access to the official records of the Kingdom of Jerusalem through his positions as tutor to the future Baldwin IV, chancellor of the kingdom, and archbishop of Tyre.

Of the twenty-three books that comprise the work, the first eight recount the story of the First Crusade, beginning with a reference to the reign of the emperor Heraclius in the seventh century and concluding with the conquest of Jerusalem in 1099. The balance of the work is dedicated to a history of the

28 P.W. Edbury and J.G. Rowe, 'William of Tyre and the Patriarchal Election of 1180', *English Historical Review* 93 (1978), pp. 1–25.

29 D.W.T.C. Vessey, 'William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography', *Mediaeval Studies* 35 (1973), p. 434.

30 S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1952), p. 477.

31 Edbury and Rowe, pp. 45–46.

Latin East. Book 9 is assigned to the reign of Duke Godfrey while, in general, the reigns of most of the kings of Jerusalem each receive two books. The exceptions are Baldwin III, whose reign comprises three books, and Baldwin IV, whose two books are supplemented by the single chapter of Book 23. William returned to the East in 1165 two years after Amaury came to the throne. At this point William involved himself personally in the narrative despite the fact that in the prologue to Book 16, the beginning of the reign of Baldwin III in 1143, William already notes that he has changed from using written historical accounts to information obtained from eye-witnesses and from a variety of records.³² Book 23 comprises a prologue and a single chapter that relates events in early 1184, when Raymond, count of Tripoli, was appointed regent of the Kingdom of Jerusalem for the leper king, Baldwin IV. While it is possible that William died shortly after writing this last chapter, no evidence exists for a new chancellor until 10 May 1185, and the next archbishop of Tyre is first mentioned on 21 October 1186. Although William certainly died before a new archbishop was installed, the new chancellor may have been installed during William's lifetime.³³ There is no definite evidence for his death except for an obit identified by R. Hiestand, which notes that William died on 29 September without giving a year.³⁴

While the *Historia* is of unrefutable importance as a source of information for the Latin East, particularly during William's ecclesiastical career in the Levant from 1165 until his death, we must remember that William was actively involved in the politics of the period, and that his history of the Latin East reflects his own inclinations. William's work, as D.W.T.C. Vessey states, 'has done more than any other historian to mould and to influence the attitude of his many successors towards the early history of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem'.³⁵ His *Historia*, however, written in Latin, does not seem to have been widely disseminated. The few surviving copies are of either French or English provenance, most datable to the decades around the year 1200.³⁶ Although William's work quickly found its way to the West, interest in copying it seems to have waned shortly afterwards, perhaps due to the loss of Jerusalem. Since William's text ends in 1184, three years before the battle of Hattin, the narrative might have seemed incomplete to those reading the text after 1187. However, interest

32 WT, 16 Prologue lines 1–18.

33 Edbury and Rowe, p. 22.

34 R. Hiestand, 'Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Wilhelms von Tyrus', *Deutsches Archiv* 34 (1978), p. 351.

35 Vessey, 'William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography', p. 433.

36 R.B.C. Huygens, WT, 'Les Manuscrits', pp. 3–32.

in the Latin East did not diminish. At some point within the first quarter of the thirteenth century, William's *Historia* was translated into Old French, a work commonly called *L'Estoire de Eracles* (*Eracles*), and a significantly larger number of manuscript copies of the translation survive. The title can be explained by the fact that William opened his account of the history of the First Crusade with a reference to the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, who ruled 610–641, during which time Islam burst onto the scene. The translator started from the same point as William, with the result that the name 'Eracles' appears on the first page of all of the manuscripts.

William's history of the Latin East remained popular from the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, but not in its original Latin form. In terms of the number of surviving manuscripts, the Old French translation was far more successful; there are fifty-one manuscripts of the Old French text from before 1500 in public collections compared to only nine Latin manuscripts. That does not mean that all connection with the original text was lost. As the translator noted, he was not writing a new history of the crusades. He reminded his readers that it was William of Tyre who originally wrote the text, and that he remained faithful to that text. However, the act of translation inevitably entails some alterations. Whether simple inaccuracies in the translation resulted in different meanings or a conscious effort on the part of the translator to alter the text, differences exist between the original and its translation. These alterations, however slight, need to be considered by historians of the Crusades.

The translator did not make significant additions or alterations to William's text that would indicate his use of another source or purposeful deviation from William's narrative. Instead he made numerous small additions, generally consisting of short phrases, which serve as a gloss to William's text, adding background information. The translator did, however, alter the portrayal of events given by William, either in a positive or negative light. Even without adding further information, the translator may have held a different view of events that affected his presentation and closer consideration may cause historians to rethink previously held ideas. A good example of this is the case of Renaud de Châtillon, about whom the translator regularly added significant phrases that are lacking in William's text, such as 'qui est un bon chevalier'. In addition, the criticism of Renaud by William is reduced, though not completely removed. The translator did omit material from William's text. These omissions generally include large sections of ecclesiastical interest, as well as biblical and classical quotations, which may provide indications about the intended audience and rationale for the translation.

Research for this study consisted of two distinct campaigns. The first centred on identifying differences between the Latin and the Old French texts. The

second was to develop a manuscript stemma for the *Eracles* text in order to discover which manuscripts come closest to preserving the original text of translation. The purpose of this process has been to establish which alterations to William's Latin text were introduced by the original translator and which appear later in the manuscript tradition.

Several questions about the Old French translation of William of Tyre need to be addressed, in particular, the nature of modifications. A provenance for the translation, to identify the translator, may provide insights on attitudes towards the crusades at the time of translation, and to determine its historical and cultural importance. While historians turn first to William's Latin text as a primary source for the decades leading up to 1184, the *Eracles* includes information about events in the Latin East that are not found in the *Historia*. It contains, in addition, information about the West, France in particular, not found elsewhere. The majority of additions made by the translator, where such information can be corroborated, suggest that the new material generally has a basis in fact. Thus, the *Eracles* text deserves closer attention from historians of both the Crusades and of Western Europe independent of William's original as well as in comparison to it. Establishing the relationships between these manuscripts should enhance an understanding of how and where they were produced and delineate the significance of the differences between manuscripts produced in the West and those copied in the Latin East.

Current Scholarship

The *Eracles* text has, so far, received comparatively little consideration from historians. This is mainly due to the fact that, on the whole, the translation is close to William's Latin, and historians of the Latin East generally consult the Latin text rather than use the French translation. The Old French text unfortunately, however, has also been largely ignored in studies of vernacular historiography in France. There are two editions of the French text: the first is in the initial volume of *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades* (hereafter *RHC*),¹ published in 1844, in which the French text is printed below the Latin, while the second was published by Paulin Paris in 1879–80.² The editors of *RHC* did not discuss the translation at length, but throughout their edition they inserted brackets around portions of the French text. In general, this appears to refer to material that is not present in the Latin text, although this practice was not always consistent. Paris also adopted the *RHC*'s method of brackets, perhaps copied from the previous edition. However, he did include various notes to the text identifying several additions and variations from the original Latin, but these are far from being complete. In the introduction to his edition, Paris detailed the time period that the work covers and incorrectly identified Bernard, the treasurer of the abbey of La Corbie, as the translator.³ The main reason for this erroneous association appears to be that it was assumed that the translation was done at the same time as a continuation to the text, linked with Bernard, was added. It is now clear, however, that the translation circulated prior to the continuation being added to the text.⁴

The first significant study of the additions found in the Old French translation was made by Franz Ost and published in 1899. Ost's work, which mainly focused on the philology of the translation, included a listing of significant additions made by the translator. The list is by no means comprehensive but does note many significant changes. Ost primarily used the *RHC* edition, and

¹ *Receuil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1844).

² P. Paris, *Guillaume de Tyr et ses Continuateurs*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1879–80). It should be noted that, despite the title, Paris's edition does not include the continuations to William of Tyre.

³ Paris, vol. 1, p. ix.

⁴ P. Edbury, 'The French Translation of William of Tyre's *Historia: The Manuscript Tradition*', *Crusades* 6 (2007), pp. 73–74.

while he did record one variant reading in the Paris edition⁵ he did not identify other differences between the editions. He also included a discussion in which he concluded that the translator was French writing in France⁶ and that the translation was made shortly after 1190.⁷ While Ost's study was limited in regard to our concerns by focusing only on the additions identified in the *RHC* edition, it provides a thorough study of those additions. His study must be used with care though because several key variants that he focused on are unique to a single manuscript that he consulted and cannot be securely attributed to the translator.

More recently the *Eracles* text has received sustained scholarly attention. Margaret Ruth Morgan discussed the merits of the translation at length in her work on the continuations of William of Tyre. She was adamant that, due to the translation's distance in space and time from the events, the *Eracles* cannot be considered to be more accurate than William's original, and that anything additional in the text must be considered with caution.⁸ In particular, she was suspicious that the frequent glosses and additions that the translator made were simply 'supplementing a deficiency of knowledge from his fertile imagination, and producing a more colourful version than his dignified original had been'.⁹ In short, that the translator was more concerned with the literary aspects of the text rather than concern for factual information. While the *Eracles* certainly contains aspects of epic prose literature, to say that the translator's additions were products of his fertile imagination is extreme. Whereas reworking of the text is consistent with contemporary vernacular prose, many details added by the translator appear to be accurate. Although Morgan was more concerned with the continuations to William of Tyre, she did include a summary of Ost's findings. She also noted that a certain O.G. Goulden was working on a study of the translation. While Goulden's work seems to have never been completed, Morgan mentioned that she communicated with him, particularly in regard to dating the translation, which he attributed to the end of the reign of Philip II of France.¹⁰ Various theories about the dating of the translation will be dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

5 F. Ost, *Die altfranzösische Übersetzung der Geschichte der Kreuzzüge Wilhelms v. Tyrus* (Halle, 1899), p. 58.

6 Ost, p. 15.

7 Ost, p. 27.

8 M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford, 1973), p. 178.

9 Morgan, p. 186.

10 Morgan, p. 39 n. 56 and p. 119.

In 1987 a symposium organised at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem investigated the relationship between William's *Historia* and the *Eracles*. Two papers resulted from this symposium: a summary of the findings of the symposium written by John Pryor,¹¹ and an in-depth analysis of the portion of the text covering the reign of Baldwin IV by Bernard Hamilton as his contribution for the symposium.¹² Pryor's article came out soon after the symposium; Hamilton's paper appeared in 2003. Their general conclusions were that the translator was working in France and that the translation was made after the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Hamilton included a list of additions made by the translator in Books 21–23. More important, Hamilton goes on to say that 'the additional information contained in the *Eracles* account of Baldwin IV's reign does not, so far as I have been able to establish, derive from any written sources which are now extant'.¹³ This could mean that the translator was in possession of a work that has not survived and which he used to enhance William's *Historia*, but there is no specific evidence that he did; certainly there are no additions to the text that foreshadow the events of 1187. In addition to providing new information, Hamilton pointed out that the tone of the translation was very different from William's. For instance, he cited the passage in Book 22.28 describing Baldwin IV's decision not to give Guy de Lusignan the regency of the kingdom.¹⁴ Here William was very critical of Guy, likely an instance in which William's view is influenced by his own involvement in the politics between Guy and Raymond of Tripoli. The translator changed William's depiction of Guy being wholly unsuited to holding the regency, so that the French text suggests that Guy's inability to govern the kingdom properly, as given by William, was simply 'what Guy's enemies wanted the king to believe'.¹⁵ Similar treatment of individuals, such as Hugh *li Mainé* and Renaud de Châtillon will be discussed later. Analysis of such descriptions of events may help historians interpret William's viewpoint as having been influenced by his partisanship. No one, however, has subjected the first twenty books of the text to the same scholarly analysis, and in any case, as Pryor pointed out,

11 J. Pryor, 'The *Eracles* and William of Tyre: An interim report', *The Horns of Ḥattīn*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), p. 271.

12 B. Hamilton, 'The Old French Translation of William of Tyre as an Historical Source', *The Experience of Crusading*, vol. 2: *Defining the Crusader Kingdom*, ed. P. Edbury and J. Phillips (Cambridge, 2003), pp. 93–112.

13 Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 110.

14 Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 108; WT, 30 (29) lines 1–55; Paris, 22.28 vol. 2 pp. 463–464.

15 Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 108.

it is not certain whether either of the two editions of the original *Eracles* translation represents a faithful reading.

Peter Edbury's recent work on the Old French continuations of William of Tyre, particularly on the manuscript tradition of the *Eracles* text contributes to the study of the translation.¹⁶ While this will be discussed in more detail, it should be noted that he found some distinct differences within the manuscript tradition. Following on from the concerns of the symposium in 1987 that the modern editions may be unreliable, Edbury identified several manuscripts that he believed to contain a text closer to the original translation. He based his examination on the chapter divisions in each of the manuscripts, recording the first and last six words of every chapter and comparing them with the chapter divisions of the Latin text.¹⁷ This research provided a provisional stemma for the manuscripts and made further study of the extant *Eracles* manuscripts far more manageable.

Other recent work has focused on specific aspects of William of Tyre and the *Eracles* that adds to a study of their relationship. Notably, Pierre-Vincent Claverie has studied the differences in the portrayal of Islam in the Latin text of William of Tyre and Old French translation of his work.¹⁸ He was particularly interested in how the view of Islam developed in Western chronicles and poetry, following the work of Margaret Jubb on the portrayal of Saladin in the *Historia* and *Eracles*.¹⁹ He found that on a number of occasions the translator altered the tone of William's text and, in general, sought to enhance the prestige of the First Crusade.²⁰ Claverie also argued that the translator was likely to have been influenced by other works, and mentions the possible influence of Ralph of Caen's *Gesta Tancredi* for the depiction of the piety of Baldwin I and the reduced prevalence of divine will.²¹ While there is nothing to link the *Eracles* to the *Gesta Tancredi* specifically, the translator does appear to have had an understanding of the history of the crusades and the Latin East beyond what is found in William's text.

16 Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 69–105.

17 Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 73–75.

18 P.-V. Claverie, 'L'Image de l'Islam dans les Traductions Vernaculaires de Guillaume de Tyr', *Continuity and Change in the Realms of Islam*, ed. K. D'Hulster and J. van Steenbergen (Leuven, 2008), pp. 117–134.

19 M. Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography* (Lewiston, 2000), and 'Saladin vu par Guillaume de Tyr et par l'*Eracles*: Changement de Perspectives', *Autour de la Première Croisade: Actes du Colloque de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. M. Balard (Paris, 2003), pp. 443–451.

20 Claverie, p. 123.

21 Claverie, p. 126.

There have also been some recent philological studies of the Old French translation of William of Tyre. Edouard Langille has provided a short comparison between the styles of the two texts using Huygens's publication of the Latin Book 29.12 and Paris's edition of the Old French translation. In general he argued that, in contrast to William's grandiose style, the translator, whom Langille (following Paris) identified as Bernard the Treasurer, instead used a far simpler style in which set words and phrases were often repeated so that the work would be more accessible to a lay audience rather than the high clergy for whom William wrote.²² Langille also pointed out that the translator in some cases inserted a moral tone into the text by criticizing worldly luxury and expounding on Christian faith.²³ Langille argues that this didactic nature of the *Eracles* text, in which the translator included many proverbial sayings, was an attempt to instruct his readers in a retelling of the narrative from William's *Historia*.²⁴

Margarida Madureira has recently studied the different viewpoints of the Latin East held by William of Tyre, a native of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and his translator, a native of Western Europe.²⁵ Again using the Huygens and Paris texts, she found that French politics and culture shaped the point of view of the translator, particularly in relation to disputes in northern France and Flanders between Philip II of France and the nobility in that region. She argued that a study of the Old French translation of William of Tyre might shed light on the history of France at this time, particularly in the northern regions where the majority of the manuscripts of the *Eracles* text were produced.²⁶ This is promising, as scholarly works on the French vernacular during this time have tended to ignore crusading texts such as the *Eracles*.²⁷ Madureira also argued that, whereas William viewed the Latin East as being separate from Europe, the translator viewed the Christian world as unified. She stated that the often-repeated term *crestienté* seems to 'évoque à l'esprit cette communauté sans frontières que lient une même foi dans le Christ et une même obéissance à

22 E. Langille, 'Traduire *La Chronique* de Guillaume de Tyr', *Traduction, Dérivation, Compilation: La Phraséologie. Actes du Colloque International*, ed. G. Di Stefano and R.M. Bidler (Montreal, 2002–03), pp. 387–390.

23 Langille, p. 391.

24 Langille, pp. 392–393.

25 M. Madureira, 'Le Chroniquer et son Public: Les Versions Latine et Française de la *Chronique* de Guillaume de Tyr', *Medieval Chronicle* 5 (2008), pp. 161–174.

26 Madureira, p. 168.

27 G. Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France* (Berkeley, 1995), pp. 7–8.

Rome'²⁸ [to call to mind this community without frontiers that includes faith in Christ on one hand and obedience to Rome on the other]. While this statement is qualified by the fact that this *chrétien monde* did not include the Byzantine Empire, it can be seen as unifying French and Norman lands with the Western Empire.

A final major scholarly work on the *Historia* and *Eracles* texts was recently published by Mireille Issa. The focus of Issa's study is the linguistic differences between the *Historia* and the *Eracles* in Books 11–18, primarily using the *RHC* edition.²⁹ However, she noted that she also consulted the Huygens text and Paris edition and pointed to cases in which the *RHC* text for the *Eracles* contains variations from the Latin not found in the Paris edition. She also noted that she consulted Old French manuscript Paris, BnF fr. 9081 (Fo5) and found that it matches the Paris edition and not the *RHC* edition.³⁰ This is the only instance in which she noted using this manuscript, and did not mention whether it contained any further readings variant to the editions. She did not consult other French manuscripts located in Paris.³¹ Issa investigated some of the material that was either added or removed by the translator. Her general findings are that the translator altered the style of the text in order to remove all trace of William's personality and the classical Latin style he employed.³² She also found that the additions made by the translator have two different functions. They are either made to fill out the text or to provide an explanation for certain points of William's text.³³

Through these various alterations, it is possible to see the presence of the translator and identify his intentions. Issa cited in particular a major addition made to Book 12.1 in which a comparison is made between Baldwin II and Xerxes of Persia as a place where the translator left his own mark on the text. She argued that, while the translator has been generally faithful to William's text, this is one point at which he deviated and introduced a significant section of new material that presents a positive portrayal of Baldwin, as compared to Xerxes.³⁴ While William was also positive in his description of Baldwin, it would appear that he was still regarded so highly that the translator felt justified

28 Madureira, p. 170.

29 M. Issa, *La Version Latine et l'Adaption Française de l'Historia Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum de Guillaume de Tyr Livres XI–XVIII* (Turnhout, 2010).

30 Issa, p. 12.

31 Issa, p. 12.

32 Issa, p. 54.

33 Issa, p. 58.

34 Issa, pp. 64–66.

in inserting this literary device to enhance Baldwin's standing. Issa also looked at the portrayal of different groups within the texts, crusaders, Muslims, Oriental Christians, Greeks, Germans, or Franks, as well as terminologies used by William and his translator.³⁵ Although the translator regularly omitted biblical passages, Issa identified evidence of religious fervour. This is characterised by expansion of ceremonial scenes, sermons, and instances of omens, such as the extended description of a comet seen in 1107 where the translator added 'En celui tens aparurent mainte signe merueilleus et espoentable en cele terre d'Orient'³⁶ [In this time many amazing and terrifying signs appeared in the land of the East].³⁷

There is a constant finding in all these scholarly works that the translator has generally stayed faithful to William's work but regularly made alterations to the text by removing parts of it, altering the style or sense of the work, or adding new information, through which the identity of the translator and motives for the creation of the Old French translation of William of Tyre is possible to determine. Historians have so far only made preliminary comparative studies between William's Latin text and the Old French translation of his work, and none through the entire text. While the manuscripts have been studied for their miniatures by art historians, the lack of a systematic study of the texts of the *Eracles* leaves historians reliant on the nineteenth-century printed editions. Since the extent to which these editions accurately represent the original Old French translation has yet to be explicated, any analysis based on the printed versions of the text cannot be deemed to be reliable. Redressing this lack of certainty in the scholarship is the aim of the present work and will make a significant contribution to the study of William of Tyre's *Historia* and its reception.

35 Issa, pp. 137–266.

36 Paris, 11.5 vol. 1 p. 386.

37 Issa, pp. 267–271.

Medieval Translation

In the early medieval world, Latin, both in scriptural and in secular scholarship, was considered superior to the vernacular, that a facility in Latin signified status and privilege. Histories tended to be written in Latin, such as accounts of the First Crusade by Albert of Aachen, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, and William's *Historia*. Various reforms between the eleventh and early thirteenth centuries, however, favored vernacular languages.¹

While the Old French translation of the *Historia* was faithful to the original one can not say that the translator literally translated the Latin. Instead he provided a loose rendering that still retains the content of the original text. In this, the translation is similar to that of other secular Latin texts,² however, not always as successful. An example occurs at the end of Book 18.29 describing the baptism of the future Baldwin IV.

Per illud tempus natus est domino Amalrico Ioppensium comiti ex Agnete, filia comitis Edessani, filius, quem patris rogatu rex de sacro fonte suscipiens suum ei nomen imposuit. Cumque ab eo iocose quereretur quidnam nepoti et filio de sacro fonte suscepto donaret, respondit, sicuti homo iocundi et urbani sermonis erat: 'regnum Ierosolimorum'.³

[During this time a son was born to Lord Amaury, count of Jaffa, by Agnes, daughter of the count of Edessa, whose godfather, the king, was asked, when lifting him up from the sacred font, if he would place his own name upon him. Since it was jokingly sought from him what he would give to his nephew and son, when he lifted him up from the sacred font, his reply, typical of a jocular man and witty with words, was: the Kingdom of Jerusalem.]

An emphasis here lies on the jocular nature of the word 'iocose' in Baldwin III's statement that he was going to give the kingdom to his nephew Baldwin. Baldwin

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- 1 C.F. Briggs, 'Translation as Pedagogy: Academic Discourse and Changing Attitudes Toward Latin in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, ed. O. Merisalo and P. Pahta (Jyväskylä, 2006), pp. 497–498.
 - 2 R. Hanna, T. Hunt, R.G. Keightly, A. Minnis, and N.F. Palmer, 'Latin Commentary Tradition and Vernacular Literature', *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 2: *The Middle Ages*, ed. A. Minnis and I. Johnson (Cambridge, 2005), p. 363.
 - 3 WT, 18.29 lines 47–52.

IV was born only in 1161, and Baldwin III cannot have known that he would die suddenly, and childless, in 1163 at the age of 33. Clearly, the statement was not made in earnest but rather in the sarcastic manner described by William. In the translation, however, the explicitly informal tone of this statement is lost.

En cele seison, li cuens Amauris de Japhe ot un fil de Agnés sa femme, qui fu fille le conte de Rohés. Li Cuens pria le roi qu'il fust ses comperes; li rois le fist volentiers et tint son fil aus fonz. Si ot non Baudoins. Aucuns li demanda après que il donroit a son filluel qui estoit ses niés; et il respondi, com cil qui mout estoit cortois et de beles paroles, que il li donroit le roiaume de Jherusalem.⁴

[In this season, Count Amaury of Jaffa had a son by Agnes his wife, who was the daughter of the count of Edessa. The count asked the king if he would be his godfather. The king agreed willingly and held his son at the font. Thus, he was named Baldwin. Others asked of him afterwards what he would give to his godson, who was also his nephew, and he replied, as someone who was most courtly and of fine words, that he would give him the Kingdom of Jerusalem.]

While the translator generally reproduces William's narrative, the term 'iocose' [jokingly] is lost. The translator may have been attempting to duplicate the jocular nature of the statement with the phrase 'qui mout estoit cortois et de beles paroles' but at least some of the translator's readers would have taken this as a statement that Baldwin III had in fact named his nephew Baldwin as heir to the Kingdom of Jerusalem. This is explicit in the Old French continuation to William of Tyre.

En ce que li rois Bauduins estoit en son lit mortel, il fist venir devant soi toz sez homes liges dou roiaume de Jerusalem, et lor comanda que il fussent tenuz par seirement au conte Reymont de Triple, et que il le receussent a bail dou roiaume de Jerusalem, tant que son nevo Bauduin fust d'aage. Icelui il avoit fait coroner a roi, en son vivant, et en avoit fait de lui son heir, en la manière come son oncle le roi Bauduin le tiers avoit fait de lui; et par tel manière que, se il mesavenoit de son nevo Bauduin, le petit roi qui fu fiz de sa seror Sebile et dou marquis Guillaume, et que il morust sanz heir, et il vosissent faire roi de nului qui fust dou roiaume de Jerusalem, que il le feissent dou conte de Triple Reymont; et se il vosissent eslire a roi

4 Paris, 18.29 vol. 2 pp. 242–243.

nul estrange home d'Oltre mer, que il le feissent par la conseil et par la volenté dou devant dit conte.⁵

[It happened that when the king was on his death-bed, he had gather before him all of his liegemen in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and he told them that he would bind them by oath to the count of Tripoli, and that they would receive him as guardian of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, until his nephew Baldwin had come of age. He (Baldwin IV) had caused him (Baldwin V) to be crowned king, in his lifetime, and had made him his heir, in the same manner as his uncle, Baldwin III, had made him his heir; and if it happens that, his nephew Baldwin, the little king who was the son of his sister Sibylla and of the Marquis William, should be unfortunate and without an heir, they should want to elect as king someone who was from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, then they should elect Raymond, count of Tripoli, but if they desired to elect a foreign man from over the sea, then they should do so by the counsel and by the consent of the aforesaid count.]

Baldwin IV was aware due to his leprosy that he would not leave an heir. As a result he made his nephew Baldwin his heir and appointed Raymond of Tripoli regent, as Baldwin V was not yet of age, being only six years old. This clearly differs from that of Baldwin III. The fact that the continuator believed that Baldwin III had nominated his nephew as heir indicates that the translator had failed to convey the jocular nature of the passage found in William's text. The continuator clearly had read the translation of William's text and is attempting a cohesive narrative rather than just attach two texts together. It also shows that the continuator believed that the situation of Baldwin III had set a precedent for the succession to the Kingdom of Jerusalem should the king not have a male heir.

The translator did not include all of William's text, omitting a significant amount of biblical and ecclesiastical material. This is common of many works transcribed into vernacular languages. In general, Latin was considered to be a high-status language in which complicated matters such as theology and law were discussed. When works containing such topics were translated these discussions were often dropped from the text since the translation was usually intended for a lay audience without the education to follow such discussions.⁶ In this the Old French translation of the *Historia* is indicative of a literary

5 *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1859), p. 4.

6 C. Boucher, 'De la *subtilité* en Français: Vulgarisation et savoir dans les traductions d'*auctoritates* des XIII^e–XIV^e siècles', *The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Voden, R. Tixier, T. Sanchez Roura, and J.R. Rytting (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 92–95.

development in which Latin was popularised for a larger audience, particularly noticeable in the second half of the thirteenth century.⁷ The translation was not in the tradition of a scribe attempting to replicate William's classical Latin but rather part of an evolving movement to make texts easier to understand for readers, whether in Latin or a vernacular language, a movement that would reach its zenith fifty years later. The translator was more concerned with accurately dictating the narrative of William's work than giving a literal translation, actively attempting to make William's text more accessible, particularly for the laity. He regularly removed the classical style of William's Latin along with many classical quotations. Rather than translating William's text objectively for the education of the laity, the translator appears in emphasizing the Latin East and the crusades to be exhorting his lay audience to take up the defence of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

Additionally, there may have been a political aspect to the development of Old French prose histories. Gabrielle Spiegel has pointed to the fact that the earliest surviving prose vernacular historical texts were all produced in Flanders, what is now northern France, during the first two decades of the thirteenth century, regions that were being brought under royal authority by Philip II. She sees this as an example of countering the French aristocracy's attempts to reassert its authority.⁸ She argues that royal historiography developed after Philip's ultimate victory at Bouvines in 1214 in an attempt at reconciliation and the expression of a growing consciousness of a united France, as opposed to the regional viewpoints of the nobility.⁹ The *Eracles*, like other early Old French histories, was produced towards the end of the reign of Philip II. It exhibits a strong partiality to the French monarchy, and many additions made by the translator relate to concerns in areas that were traditional domains of the French monarch or soon to be acquired by Philip II. The text's constant use of the term 'France' and its positive view of the French monarchy, clearly indicate that the translation of William of Tyre was associated with a developing royal historiography from the end of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

7 Briggs, p. 501.

8 Spiegel, pp. 53–54.

9 Spiegel, pp. 309–313.

PART 1

Comparison of the Editions

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Introduction

For a comparison of the published editions of William's *Historia* and the *Eracles* text I have used Robert Huygens's edition from 1986 for the Latin, a modern critical edition based on the nine surviving manuscripts,¹ and Paulin Paris's 1879–80 edition for the Old French. Paris states in his introduction that his edition is based on two manuscripts, then in the possession of Ambroise Firmin-Didot and now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland—F31—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 137 (Paris: c.1295–1300); and F52—Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 142 (Paris: c.1300 for the translation and c.1340 for the Continuation). Paris also made use of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* edition from 1844² and refers to manuscript variants in F58—Paris, BnF, fr. 2825 (Paris: early 14th century). The 'F' number refers to a listing of the manuscripts made by Jaroslav Folda, for which see the Manuscript Stemma section.³

The editors of the *RHC* edition state that they used several manuscripts which include: F45—Paris, BnF, fr. 2630 (N. France: c.1250–75); F58—Paris, BnF, fr. 2825 (Paris: early 14th century); F48—Paris, BnF, fr. 2827 (N. France: c.1250–75); and F77—Paris, BnF, fr. 9082 (Rome: 1295).⁴ It is clear, however, that the text of the *RHC* edition is primarily based on F45 and includes a number of unique and erroneous readings found in that manuscript. The use of other manuscripts appears to have been limited to chapter headings and elements in which F45 was incomplete. While it was once thought that the editors of the *RHC* may have used Fo2—Paris, BnF, fr. 2627 (N. France: 15th century)—as the basis for their edition,⁵ this has been conclusively disproved.

As the Paulin Paris edition is generally considered to be the better of the two editions, I have used it to make a comparison with Huygens's edition of the Latin text.⁶ Paris relied on a limited number of the fifty-one surviving manuscripts

1 Huygens, 'Les Manuscrits', WT, pp. 3–32.

2 Paris, vol. 1 p. xvi.

3 J. Folda, 'Manuscripts of the *History of Outremer* by William of Tyre: A Handlist', *Scriptorium: Revue internationale des études relatives aux manuscrits / International Review of Manuscript Studies* 27:1 (1973), pp. 92–95.

4 *RHC Occ.*, 1 p. xxvi; cf. P. Riant, 'Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits de l'*Eracles*', *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 (1881), pp. 247–252.

5 Riant, p. 251; Edbury, 'Translation', p. 72.

6 Pryor, p. 271 n. 2; Edbury, 'Translation', p. 72.

and failed to understand the manuscript stemma, therefore various concerns can be raised over how accurately that edition reflects differences to the Latin text. To address these concerns I have consulted a selection of manuscripts that appear to preserve an early form of the *Eracles* text.

Fo5—Paris, BnF, fr. 9081 (Paris: c.1245–48) is an early manuscript and does not contain a continuation, which means that it may contain readings closer to the original translation. I likewise consulted Fo2 because, despite being a fifteenth-century manuscript, it also did not contain a continuation and was earlier believed to have been the basis for the *RHC* edition. Edbury considered this manuscript, along with Fo5, to represent a primitive reading of the text.⁷ Fo6—Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1963 (Antioch: c.1260–68), like Fo5, is also an early manuscript and again contains no continuation. Since Folda attributed an Eastern provenance to Fo6, it might contain variant readings that represented divisions in the manuscript stemma.⁸ However, while I accept Folda's general dating of the manuscripts, the Eastern provenance of Fo6, although it contains a number of unique features, is questionable. F72—Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 828 (Acre: c.1280) is an example of a manuscript with a continuation. From a comparison of these four manuscripts with the printed text it is clear that the majority of alterations noted between the Latin and Old French appear in all these early manuscripts, despite differences in provenance and the presence or absence of a continuation. These manuscripts also occasionally contain readings similar to the Latin, while the printed edition gives a different reading. Paris noted some variances in the manuscripts in his edition,⁹ but these appear to be mistakes found in the manuscripts he used, since all of these early manuscripts have readings of Paris's variances that match the Latin, rather than the printed edition of the text.

This first selection of manuscripts (Fo5, Fo2, Fo6, and F72) have some distinctly different readings. These differences occur in Books 7.22, 11.14, 12.1, 15.22, 20.11, and 22.6, and thus serve as my sample chapters for distinguishing relationships to the *Eracles* text. For these I have checked every manuscript, and they will be discussed in detail in the section on the manuscripts. In transcribing the chosen sample chapters it became clear that yet another manuscript, F38—London, British Library, Henry Yates Thompson 12 (England: mid-13th century) appears to provide a text even closer to the Latin and is presumably a version of the text closest to the original translation. Neither the *RHC* editors

⁷ Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 78–79.

⁸ Folda, 'Handlist', p. 92.

⁹ Paris, vol. 1 p. 32, n. 5; vol. 1 p. 111, n. 2.

nor Paulin Paris used this manuscript when preparing their editions, but any future new edition of the *Eracles* text should add F38 to their consideration. Therefore, I have added F38 to the other four early manuscripts in checking various alterations. The remainder of this first part of this book will discuss the differences between the Latin and Old French texts, alterations present in most manuscripts and which appear to have been introduced by the translator.

The First Person

The *Eracles* translator needed to alter William's habitual use of statements in the first-person point of view. Throughout his text William referred to the Kingdom of Jerusalem as 'nostrum' [our] and to those living in the Latin East as 'nos' [us]. An example occurs in Book 18.10, where Cyprus is mentioned as providing food and supplies to those living in the East. This is recorded in the Latin as 'Cyprum insulam nobis vicinam, populis refertam fidelibus, regno nostro utilem et amicam semper'¹ [The island of Cyprus, which lies near to us, filled with a faithful people, that were always helpful and friendly to our kingdom]. In the translation it reads 'Chypre qui est une isle de quoi maint bien sont venu a la terre de Surie; car est bone terre et plenteive'² [Cyprus, which is an island from which many goods are sent to the land of Syria; for it is a good land and plentiful]. The translator removed the first person and has identified Syria as being the place to which the provisions were sent. A similar example occurs in the discussion of the marriage between Baldwin I and Adelaide del Vasto. William of Tyre placed the arrival of Adelaide in the Latin East as 'in nostram . . . regionem',³ while the translator rendered this as 'en la terre de Surie'.⁴

If the insertion of place names was fairly straightforward for the translator, the prologues could not be replaced so simply. William had included separate prologues, one at the beginning of the work, another at the beginning of Book 16, and a final one before Book 23. In the first prologue, William set out his reasons for writing the text, and made conventional statements about his sources and his dedication to accuracy. The prologue before Book 16, the start of the reign of Baldwin III, indicated the point when William became personally aware of affairs in the Kingdom of Jerusalem and was able to use eyewitness testimony rather than rely on written accounts, as for the First Crusade. The third prologue, which comprises a single chapter, explains that in 1184 William had stopped writing his history due to the continuous misfortunes besetting the Kingdom of Jerusalem but that subsequently he had been persuaded to continue his narrative.⁵ Such prologues, found in many medieval

1 WT, 18.10 lines 3–5.

2 Paris, 18.10 vol. 2 p. 208.

3 WT, 11.21 lines 32–33.

4 Paris, 11.21 vol. 1 p. 414.

5 WT, 23 Prologue, lines 1–53.

prose writings, served to guide the reader prior to reading the text. The author hoped to condition the reader towards a favourable view of the text. William adhered to this tradition. Through the prologues he defended himself against criticisms of the text, apologised for imperfections, established provenance, supported the necessity for the text, and dedicated the work to a patron.⁶ By adhering to established norms of prose writing William evidently hoped to establish the authority of his text for church leaders for whom he was writing. In the translation, however, this need was not necessary, as William's text had already become authoritative. It is interesting, nonetheless, that the translator chose to omit all three prologues. By comparison, many of the revisions to the *Gesta Francorum*, such as Guibert of Nogent⁷ or Robert the Monk,⁸ included prologues that served a similar tutelary function to William's and criticised its style, arguing that the text needed their improvement. Both revisions, however, are in Latin and were intended to improve the original. The translator of the *Eracles*, in contrast, was not seeking to improve William's text, as it follows it very closely, and praised William. The purpose appears rather to bring William's work to a non-Latin speaking audience.

When William wrote his prologue to Book 23, probably in 1184, the Kingdom of Jerusalem had been suffering setbacks as Saladin rose to prominence and the king, Baldwin IV, was dying from leprosy. This time of turmoil for the Latin East may have been viewed by the West as divine punishment for the sins of those living in the East.⁹ William reflecting on these difficulties was optimistic; he portrayed Raymond of Tripoli as being capable of leading the kingdom as regent for Baldwin IV and wrote to persuade his readers, both in the East and West, that the kingdom still received the favour of God.¹⁰ By the time of the translation, however, Jerusalem had been lost and successive crusades had failed to recover it. Perhaps William's prologues were no longer relevant to the political situation. It is possible, of course, that there was originally a prologue in the translation, but none of the surviving manuscripts include any indication of one, and it would have had to have been lost very early not to have survived in any of the extant manuscript copies.

While there is no definite date for the translation, there are certain indications that it was made towards the end of the reign of Philip II, around the time

6 Vessey, 'William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography', pp. 435–36.

7 Guibert de Nogent, *Gestorum Dei per Francos et Cinq Autres Textes*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Turnholt, 1996), pp. 119–121.

8 Robertus Monachus, 'Historia Iherosolimitana', *RHC Occ.* vol. 3 (Paris, 1866), pp. 721–722.

9 Edbury and Rowe, pp. 151–153.

10 Edbury and Rowe, pp. 163–166.

of the Fifth Crusade when other crusade texts were being produced at a point when the Kingdom of Jerusalem was struggling and required assistance. The use of the prologue as a call for aid, then, would have been valid. William's prologues, however, include quotations from ancient authors that were regularly omitted by the translator, the format of the prologue conforming in general to a classical style that is almost entirely eliminated in the French translation. As a piece of vernacular literature, the *Eracles* did not attempt the same classical style of Latin literature. The less rigorous style was more suited to a lay audience who were not interested in when William changed sources or in the numerous quotations throughout the text.

The translator could have added a prologue if he had desired to encourage those in the West to support the cause of the Latin East, but it seems clear from the alterations he made to the text that he expected his audience to have a basic understanding of the history of the crusades. He stressed, instead, that it was the *gent de France*, the forefathers of his audience, who had won the victories of the First Crusade, in order to encourage his readers to live up to their ideals of bringing aid to the *terra sancta*, an exhortation William had included in his prologue.

The alteration of the first person point of view is also apparent when William himself enters the narrative. In Book 19.3 William discusses the appearance of King Amaury, but most of the chapter is dedicated to William's response to a request from the king to prove the existence of an afterlife. William states, 'Memini me semel, ab eo familiariter evocatum dum in castello Tyrensi febricula lenta non multum periculose laboret'¹¹ [I remember once, due to his friendship, I was called into the castle of Tyre, while he laboured under a low fever that was not very dangerous]. The French text reads 'Dont il avint une foiz que il avoit une fievre tiercine feblete, et demoroit au chastel de Sur. Au jor qu'elle ne li tint mie, il fist venir devant soi Guillaume qui arcevesques de Sur et ceste estoir mist en Latin et bien s'entendoit en clergie'¹² [It happend on an occasion that he was weak from tercine fever and stayed in the castle of Tyre. One day that is not specified, that he called before him William, who was archbishop of Tyre and who wrote this history in Latin and who was well versed in clerical matters]. A similar alteration occurs when William's election as archbishop of Tyre is described in Book 21.8. The Latin text, 'conviente assensu, dei patientia potius quam meritis nostris ad regimen illius ecclesie vocati sumus et infra decem dies in ecclesia Dominici Sepulchri per manus domini Amalrici Ierosolimitani patriarche munus consecrationis VI Idus Iuni auctore domino

11 WT, 19.3 lines 10–12.

12 Paris, 19.3 vol. 2 p. 255.

suscepimus licet indigni'¹³ [with agreement having been reached, by the permission of God rather than by my merits, I was called to govern this church and within ten days, I received consecration in the church of the Sepulchre of the Lord by the hand of lord Amaury, patriarch of Jerusalem, by the authority of God on the sixth day of the Ides of June (7 June)], is replaced with 'A la fin s'acorderent tuit li cler et li Rois meismes, si com il est costume en l'eglise, et fu esleuz à arcevesque Guillaume li arcediacres, cil qui ce livre mist en Latin, et le sacra Amauris li patriarches de Jherusalem eu mois de juing, le jor de la feste saint Jehan et sain Pol'¹⁴ [In the end all of the clergy and the king agreed together, as is the custom in the Church, and elected as archbishop, William the archdeacon, who wrote this book in Latin, and consecrated by Amaury, the patriarch of Jerusalem in the month of June, the day of the feast of St John and St Paul (26 June)]. Again in Book 22.3, in which William is part of an embassy sent to the court of Manuel, emperor of Constantinople, and then to attend the Third Lateran Council in Rome, the *Eracles* replaces William's use of 'nobis et ecclesie nostre'¹⁵ [us and our church] with 'li arcevesques Guillaume de Sur' and adds later in the chapter 'qui ceste estoire mist en latin' [who wrote this history in Latin].¹⁶ Another oblique reference is made in Book 19.17, when William records that he questioned the messengers sent by King Amaury to the caliph Shawar in Egypt in order to learn about Egyptian customs.

Et quoniam singularem et seculis nostris incognitam habet illa principis domus consuetudinem, libet diligenter adnotare que fida relatione eorum, qui ad illum tantum principem sunt ingressi, de statu et magnificentia et immensitate divitiarum et glorie multiplicitate comperimus: non enim erit minimum profecisse, hec intellexisse diligentius.¹⁷

[Since the principle custom of the house (of Shawar in Egypt) has become both remarkable and unknown in our world (the Latin East), I want to carefully note about what faithful accounts those who had been admitted into such a great prince, from whom we learned of such stature, magnificence, immense wealth and increasing glory: for progress will have been too small, in order to understand these things more carefully.]

13 WT, 21.8 lines 77–81.

14 Paris, 21.8 vol. 2 p. 376.

15 WT, 22.4 line 3.

16 Paris, 22.3 vol. 2 p. 412.

17 WT, 19.18 lines 1–6.

The French reads:

Porce que les genz des autres terres ne cognoissent mie la contenance ne la manière des herberjages ne de la mesniée a ce haut prince que l'on apele calife cil qui ceste estoire mist en latin demanda mout ententivement a noz messages qui la furent envoié les noveles de son estre et des genz qui entor lui estoient et coment il avoient este conduit jusqu'a lui.¹⁸

[Because the men of other lands could not recognise the appearance nor the manner of living nor the customs of this worthy prince that is called caliph, he who wrote this history in Latin enquired most attentively from our messengers who had been sent there of the way of life of the men who were around him and how they had been conducted to him.]

Similar alterations are found in Book 21.1 during the discussion of the coronation of Baldwin IV. The Latin 'dum nos archidiaconatum administraremus Tyrensem'¹⁹ [while we served as archdeacon of Tyre] is replaced with 'l'arcediacre de Sur qui avoit non Guillaumes et avoit esté en France a escole; bons clers estoit et preudom'²⁰ [the archdeacon of Tyre, who was named William and had been to school in France; he was a good and worthy cleric]. The translator has again added praise of William. The additional statement that William had been to school in France was presumably of interest to a French audience and was relevant because of the statement that William was Baldwin's tutor, a reference to William's autobiographical chapter, Book 19.12, found in only one of the surviving Latin manuscripts, Vatican Library, *lat.* 2002 (labelled V by Huygens), where William states that he studied 'in Francia et Italia'.²¹ It is unlikely, however, that the translator was working from a manuscript that contained this chapter since William in Book 19.12 also provides the names of the masters that he studied under in Paris, Orléans, and Bologna but does not explicitly state this again elsewhere in the text. While the translator omitted a good portion of William's side notes and personal background material, he regularly praised William. Due to his interest in displaying his knowledge of church affairs in France it seems unlikely that he would have omitted the names of leading clerics in Paris, and it is therefore likely that this chapter was not present in his Latin exemplar. There seems to have been a strong interest in

18 Paris, 19.17 vol. 2 pp. 276–77.

19 WT, 21.1 line 13.

20 Paris, 21.1 vol. 2 p. 363.

21 WT, 19.12 lines 4–5.

connecting William to France. It is possible that he was still well known in the West and that he was remembered as having been educated there. William had, however, earlier mentioned his studies while discussing King Amaury's first marriage to Agnes de Courtenay, which was annulled upon his accession to the throne due to consanguinity, where he notes that he had been overseas at the time.

Quesivimus sane nos postea diligenter, tanquam circa talia curiosi, quoto consanguinitatis gradu se contingerent, quia nondum *de scolis redieramus*, sed trans mare adhuc circa liberalium artium detinebamur studia quando Ierosolimis hec facta sunt, et tandem invenimus per dominam Stephaniam, abbatissam ecclesie Sancte Marie Maioris, que Ierosolimis ante Sepulchrum Domini sita est, que domini Ioscelini senioris comitis Edessani filia fuit ex sorore domini Rogerii, filii Ricardi, Antiochenorum principis, religiosam et nobilem carne et moribus feminam, iam natu grandevam sed memoriter hec retinentem, quod eorum generatio sic erat.²²

[Afterwards I certainly enquired diligently, as is usual around such curiosities, into what level of blood relations they were, since I had not yet returned from school, but I was across the sea around the time this happened in Jerusalem, occupied by the study of the liberal arts. Later I found out through lady Stephanie, abbess of the church of St Mary the Great, that is situated in Jerusalem before the Sepulchre of the Lord, who was the daughter of Lord Joscelin (I), the elder, by the sister (Maria) of Lord Roger, son of Richard, prince of Antioch, a religious woman, noble in body and in manner. Now of great age but she retained her memory, that they were in this manner related.]

The translator did not retain the first-person reference in the statement that William sought information from the abbess Stephanie. This is unusual because the translator elsewhere highlights William's associations, but perhaps this is because William was not present at the events described. It is unlikely that the exemplar the translator was using lacked this passage, because he included the rest of the detail, including William's source.

Une preudefemme estoit abaesse de l'eglise Sainte-Marie-la-Majeur, qui est en Jherusalem devant le Sepuchre Nostre Seigneur; cele avoit non Tiefaine et fu fille le viez conte Jocelin de Rohés, de la sereur Rogier le fil

22 WT, 19.4 lines 21–31.

Richard, qui fu princes d'Antioche. Ele estoit jà de grant aage, mès bien sot conter coment li rois Amauris et cele Agnés s'entrapartenoient.²³

[A worthy woman was the abbess of St Mary the Great, which is in Jerusalem before the Sepulchre of Our Lord. She was named Stephanie and was the daughter of the elder count Joescelin of Edessa, by the sister of Roger, the son of Richard, who was prince of Antioch. Although she was of great age, she could recollect how the king Amaury and this Agnes were separated.]

The translator must have been aware from this passage that William had studied in the West, and, while he may have had further knowledge of William's time in the West, it is more likely that the translator replaced William's phrase 'trans mare', referring to Western Europe in general, with 'en France' because of his own affinities, one of many examples in which the translator replaced general statements referring to the West with a specific mention of France. The loss of first-person reference is evidence of a shift between William's Eastern viewpoint and the Western view of the translator as well as an indication of the change in style between the Latin and Old French. While the translator reminded his audience often that he was not the original author of the text and regularly highlighted William's prominent role in the events described, their different world views are evident throughout the translation.

23 Paris, 19.4 vol. 2 p. 258.

Classical and Biblical Allusions

William of Tyre included many references to the Bible and various ancient authors, such as Virgil, Juvenal, and Josephus. His writing style also imitates these authoritative texts. His treatment of the kings of Jerusalem is comparable to Einhard's *Vita Caroli*, which contains a quotation from Cicero. While William may not have been directly knowledgeable of all classical authors he was clearly aware of historical texts that were popular in the medieval period.¹

An example of the translator eliminating this classical material included by William of Tyre occurs in Book 4.10. The chapter consists of a physical description of Antioch and its surroundings. William mentions a mountain near Antioch called 'mons parlier' and says that many believed it to be Mount Parnassus, famous for the Oracle of Delphi, but noted that this belief was incorrect because Mount Parnassus was in Thessaly. William devoted fifty-five lines to a discussion of various myths and legends relating to the Oracle, including prophesies, comprising quotations from a variety of works, such as Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Solinus's *Polyhistor*, Theodoricus's *Historia Tripartita*, and Rufinus's *Ecclesiastical History*, as well as a description of the streams surrounding Mt. Parnassus.² The translator chose to omit most of this material.

Une partie de ce mont s'en vet a la mer et est mout haut ilec; si que il a son non par soi, car l'en le clame Montparlier. Aucune gent cuident que ce soit Parnasus, uns mons dont les escriptures parolent mout, por une fontaine qui siet au pié, eu lieu que l'en clame l'eschiele-Buiemont; mes sanz faille, ne ce n'est li monz, ne ce n'est la fontaine dont li auteur parolent tant; car icil monz Parnassus siet en la terre qui a non Thessalie.³

[A part of this mountain which faces towards the sea and is the highest point, it is named after this point, for it is called Monparlier. Some men believe that this is Mt. Parnassus, a mountain which the Scriptures speak much about, because a spring lies at its foot, in the place that is called the Steps of Bohemond; but without fail, this is not the mountain that the

¹ Edbury and Rowe, pp. 32–35.

² WT, 4.10 lines 18–73.

³ Paris, 4.10 vol. 1 pp. 134–135.

other authors speak of, for this Mount Parnassus lies in the land that is called Thessaly.]

The translator retained William's comment that conflating 'mons parlier' with Mount Parnassus was incorrect but removed background material relating to it. Perhaps the Oracle of Delphi would have been of interest to his audience, while more detailed discussion would not. This general trend of omitting references to classical authors continues throughout the translation. References to well-known figures from classical history, however, are kept. These include a reference to Julius Caesar and the Roman dominion over Egypt,⁴ as well as a reference to Alexander the Great expanded from 'Alexandri Macedonis'⁵ to 'Alixandres li Grans, rois de Macedoine'.⁶

In addition, the translator added two classical references. The first occurs in Book 11.14 and relates to Dido having been born in Sidon. In Book 13.1 William also mentioned Dido when discussing Tyre, and the translator retained this reference.⁷ Like Caesar and Alexander the Great, Dido was a well-known figure from classical history. Another well-known figure is the subject of the translator's extended addition where he contrasts Baldwin II with Xerxes in Book 12.1. This addition which involved a complete reworking of the chapter was the subject of a detailed discussion by Mireille Issa.⁸ The material does not seem to have come from a known source, such as the *Histoire Universelle*. The translator put a speech into the mouth of Xerxes in which he tells his nobles that he did not need to take counsel from them in order to attack Greece. This then is contrasted with Baldwin II, whom the translator depicted as being a wise ruler for taking counsel from the nobility.

Sersés fu uns poissanz rois de la terre qui a non Aise, et avoit mout grant contenz au roiaume de Grece. Touz ses barons manda un jor, et quant il furent tuit assemble, il parla premiers, et leur dist: 'Biau seigneur, je vos ai ci mandez, seulement por fere semblant que je preigne conseil à vos, coment je me contendrai vers ceus de Grece, qui mainz torz me font; savoir se je les guerrierai on non. Mès ce vos di-je bien que ne vos demanderai nul conseil; ainçois sachiez certainnement que je les guerrierai: à vous appartient sanz plus à obéir à mon comandement, ne mie à

4 WT, 19.27 lines 21–26; Paris 19.28 vol. 2 pp. 902–903.

5 WT, 4.9 lines 8–9.

6 Paris, 4.9 vol. 1 p. 133.

7 WT, 13.1 lines 28–34; Paris, 13.1 vol. 1 p. 476.

8 Issa, pp. 64–66.

moi conseiller'. Einsi emprist sa guerre dont il li meschéi maintes fois. Cest essanple vos ai-je dite, por mostrer que li rois Baudoins, dont je vos ai parlé, n'ot mie cele costume; car onques riens n'emprist des aferes du regne qu'il ne s'en conseillast aus Barons, se il les pot avoir, ou aus Bachelers ou aus autres chevaliers, se il n'ot autre gent; et maintes foiz à privée mesniés de son ostel, quant il ne le pooit amender. Por ce fist maintes bonnes oevres et granz acroissemenz à son roiaume; car bien afiert à si haut home come est rois, que il se consaut touzjorz de ses gentz besoignes; mès que il sache cognoistre entre ses conseillers les plus sages et les plus loiaus, et ceus croire devant les autres; car aucun riche home sont qui plus tiennent chier et privez d'eus ceus où il n'a sens ne loiauté; por quoi leur afere vont à mauves chief.⁹

[Xerxes was a powerful king from the land that is called Asia, and he had many great struggles with the Kingdom of Greece. One day he called all of his barons together, and when they had assembled he spoke first, telling them: 'Good lords, I have called you here only to make it seems as though I have taken counsel with you on how I should conduct myself against the people of Greece, who have done me many wrongs; to know whether I should make war with them or not. But from you, I do not ask for your counsel; for I have already decided that I shall wage war: you shall depart with nothing more to do than obey my command and not give me counsel'. In this way he undertook his war in which he suffered many misfortunes. I have told you this example in order to show that the king Baldwin (II), whom I have spoken of above, did not have this custom. He never undertook any affairs of the kingdom without taking the counsel of the barons, if he was able, or the young men and the other knights, if he had no other men; many times he met with his inner circle in his rooms when he was unable to do otherwise. Because of this, he did many good works and greatly enlarged his kingdom; for this king so valued worthy men, that he always consulted them in his great undertakings. But he also knew to distinguish from amongst his councillors the most wise and the most loyal, and he trusted these above all of the others; for some rich men were held more closely and intimately than those others that were neither wise nor loyal, because they desired to create great misfortunes.]

The translator used this example from classical history in order to explain to his, likely lay audience, the behaviour of a virtuous ruler.

9 Paris, 12.1 vol. 1 p. 432.

The translator also removed much of the biblical material from the text, particularly in regard to background information for the various cities mentioned in the text. An example occurs with a discussion of the city of Sidon. When he gave the background to cities near Tyre, William makes several references to 1 Kings in relation to the discourse between King Solomon and Hiram of Tyre relating to the building of the Temple. When mentioning the location of the city of Sidon William quotes 1 Kings in which Solomon asks Hiram for the use of skilled Sidonian carpenters:

Est autem Sydon civitas maritime inter Beritum et Tyrensem metropolim sita, provincie Phenicis portio non modica, comodissimum habens situm, cuius tam Veteris quam Novi textus Instrumenti frequentem habet memoriam. De ea quippe in secundo Regum libro ita Salomon ad Hiram Tyrriorum regem: *Precipe igitur ut precidant michi cedros de Libano, et servi mei sint cum tuis. Mercedem autem servorum tuorum dabo tibi quamcumque petieris: scis enim quoniam non est in populo meo qui noverit ligna cedere sicut Sydonii.*¹⁰

[Indeed, Sidon is a coastal city situated between Beirut and the city of Tyre, in a not insignificant part of the province of Phoenicia, having a site most spacious; and it is frequently mentioned in the Old and New Testaments. It is thus named in the Second Book of Kings where Solomon says to Hiram, king of Tyre: *Give orders, therefore, that thy servants cut me down cedar trees, out of Lebanon, and let my servants be with thy servants: and I will give thee the hire of thy servants whatsoever thou wilt ask; for thou knowest how there is not among my people a man that has skill to hew wood like the Sidonians* (1 Kgs 5:6).]

While this type of reference is regularly included by William in his text, they are absent from the translation.

The translator also paraphrased much of the speech at Clermont attributed to Urban II by William, which mainly comprise various biblical quotations.¹¹ However, this does not mean that the translator shows no interest in biblical material. He preserved and expanded on references to Noah and the prophets.¹² The translator also cited specific books that William referenced and added a few biblical references of his own. These additions highlight passages

¹⁰ WT, 11.14 lines 28–38.

¹¹ WT, 1.15 lines 1–133.

¹² Paris, 7.14 vol. 1 p. 244, and 11.9 vol. 1 p. 393.

relevant to the topic and show a good understanding of scripture, which may indicate that the translator was a cleric.

The translator made several additional scriptural references in Book 4.2 during the discussion of the city of Edessa. William made a reference to Tobit 4:21–8:24, a book in the Hebrew Apocrypha: ‘Hec est civitas, ad quam Tobias senior iuniorem Tobiam, filium suum, misit ut a Gabelo, consanguineo suo, decem talenta argenti reposceret, que ei, dum adhuc esset infantulus, commodaverat’¹³ [This is the city to which Tobias the elder sent his son, Tobias the younger, to his kinsman, Gabelus, in order to receive ten talents of silver, that he had lent him, while he (Tobias the younger) had yet been a child]. This was translated as ‘en ceste cite qui a non Rohez, si com l’en treuve en la Bible, envia Tobias li peres son filz Tobie, por demander l’argent que Gabellus, ses cosins li devoit’ [in this city which is called Edessa, just as in found in the Bible, Tobias the father sent his son Tobias in order to ask for the silver that he had lent Gabellus, his kinsman] he then added ‘et cil li rendi et dona sa fille a femme’¹⁴ [and he rendered this to him and gave him his daughter to wife]. The translator has expanded the reference in mentioning a portion of the story that may have been better known. Sarah, the younger Tobias’s wife, had previously married seven times, but all of her husbands had been killed by a devil due to their lack of fear of God. Tobias survives because he and Sarah spent three days in prayer and also burned the liver and heart of a fish in order to drive away the demon. To William’s statement that St Thaddeus had first brought Christianity to Edessa, to which the translator added that he was ‘le frère saint Symon’, though he refers to St Thaddeus as St Jude, since they were considered at the time to be the same person.¹⁵ Although Jude was the brother of James, not Simon, they preached together in Persia and share the same feast day.¹⁶ In addition, the translator kept the specific reference to Caesarea’s *Ecclesiastical History* that the preaching of Jude in Edessa was found in the first book of Eusebius. The translator, however, dropped reference to the letter written to King Abgarus included by Eusebius.¹⁷

Huius cives statim post domini passionem per Tadeum apostolum salutarem Christi susceperunt doctrinam, digni inventi per omnia et tanti

13 WT, 4.2 lines 12–15.

14 Paris, 4.2 vol. 1 p. 123.

15 Paris, 4.2 vol. 1 p. 123.

16 Acts 1.13, ‘Jude’, *ODS*, p. 291; ‘Simon’, *ODS*, pp. 479–480; cf. *Acta Sanctorum*, LXI Octobris T. XII (Brussels, 1884), pp. 421 and 450–458.

17 Eusebius Pamphili, ‘Ecclesiastical History’, Books 1–5 *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, vol. 19, trans. R.J. Deferrari (New York, 1953), Book 1.13, pp. 78–82.

predicatione apostoli et epistola Salvatoris, quam ad Abgarum regem eorum rescribens misit.¹⁸

[Previously, those of the city, after the Passion of the Lord, had taken up the doctrine of the salvation of Christ through the apostle Thaddeus, being found worthy in everything by the preaching of the apostle and the letter of the Saviour, that he sent in reply to their King Abgarus.]

The translator also added the titles of specific books in which a reference, alluded to by William, can be found. An example occurs in Book 4.9 during the discussion of the city of Antioch. William made a reference to 2 Kings 25:1–7.

Hec priscis temporibus dicta est Reblata, ad quam Sedechias rex Iuda cum filiis ante Nabuchodonosor Babiloniorum regem deductus est, ubi in patris presentia filios eius occidi precepit et ipsum consequenter oculis privari.¹⁹

[In ancient times this place was called Reblata, to which Zedekiah, king of Judah, was taken with his sons in front of Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, where in the presence of the father he ordered his sons to be killed and afterwards deprived him of his eyes.]

The translation reads:

Ceste ot non ez ancienes escriptures Reblata. Iluec mena Nabugodonosor, li rois de Babiloine, le roi de Jherusalem qui ot non Sedechias, quant il le prist, et li ocist touz ses fiz devant lui; apres li creva les euz si com l'en trueve eu quart livre des Rois.²⁰

[This was called Reblata in ancient writings. There Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, took the king of Jerusalem, who was called Zedekiah. When he captured him, he killed all of his sons before him, afterwards he put out his eyes, just as one can find in the fourth book of Kings.]

Another area in which the translator has added material relates to Noah. When relating to various cities in the Levant, William gave information on the city of Arqa: 'Hanc, ut veterum habent traditions, Aracheus, septimus filiorum Canahan, fundasse dicitur et de suo nomine Arachis dixisse, sed postmodum corrupto nomine Archis fuisse'²¹ [This city has very ancient traditions, it was founded by

18 WT, 4.2 lines 15–19.

19 WT, 4.9 lines 5–8.

20 Paris, 4.9 vol. 1 p. 133.

21 WT, 7.14 lines 5–8.

Archis, the seventh son of Canaan, and for him it was called Arachis, but afterwards this name was corrupted to Archis]. The translation extending Archis's genealogy back to Noah reads: 'Les scriptures dient qu'ele fu fondée mout anciennement; car Noé qui fu en l'arche ot trois filz: li un sot non Cham, cil ot un filz qui ot non Chanaam; de celui vint uns qui ot non Archeus: icil fonda ceste cité, et por celui ot-ele non Archis'²² [The scriptures say that this city was founded a long time ago; for Noah, who was in the ark, had three sons: One was called Ham, and he had a son who was called Canaan; from him came a son who was called Archis; it was he who founded this city and for whom it is called Archis].

A similar addition is made regarding the city of Jubayl. This city has gone by various names. In William's Latin it is referred to as 'Biblum', and William recounted that 'Dicta est autem prisco vocabulo Eve eamque fundasse crediture Eveus, sextus filiorum Canhan'²³ [this city was also formerly called Eve because Eveus, the sixth son of Canaan was credited with founding it]. The translator rendered this as 'ele ot non anciennement Eve, porce que Eveus, li filz Canaan le neveu Noé, la fist'²⁴ [this city had an ancient name, Eve, because it was founded by Eveus, the son of Cannan, the grandson of Noah]. These examples show the translator's interest in the genealogy of Noah. His audience would have known who Noah was, while they may not have understood the references to Noah's descendents. As such, the translator may have added these glosses in order to aid readers who were not as familiar with scripture. A further addition is made during the description of the city of Tyre. William related that 'Tyrys, septimus filiorum Iaphet filii Noe'²⁵ [Tyrys, the seventh son of Japheth, son of Noah] founded the city. William having already made a reference to Noah, the translator reinforces who Noah was by adding 'qui fist l'arche' [who built the arch].²⁶

While the translator removed much of the biblical and classical material from William's text, it has not all been removed, with the translator actually adding similar material, generally related to well-known figures from biblical and classical writings, such as Noah and Alexander the Great. He appears to have had knowledge of biblical literature and to have been keen to instruct his audience as to where important passages could be found, providing glosses for passages he felt may have been too obscure for his audience.

22 Paris, 7.14 vol. 1 p. 244.

23 WT, 11.9 lines 45–46.

24 Paris, 11.9 vol. 1 p. 393.

25 WT, 13.1 lines 40–41.

26 Paris, 13.1 vol. 1 p. 476.

Terminology

A regular alteration made by the translator concerns the system of dating used by William. For some dates William specified the day of the month on which an event occurred. For example, he gave the date that the First Crusaders captured Jerusalem: ‘anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo nonagesimo nono, mense Iulio, quinta decima die mensis’¹ [in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1099, in the month of July, the fifteenth day of the month]. In this case the translator was able to use the same format as William: ‘en l’an de l’Incarnacion Jhesucrist .m. et .iiii. .xx. et .xix., eu mois de juingnet, le quinziesme jour du mois’.² In a majority of cases William used the classical system of dating in which he referred to the Kalends, Nones, or Ides of the month.³ For example, he identified the date of Duke Godfrey’s death as ‘quinto decimo Kalendas Augusti, anno ab incarnation domini millesimo centesimo’⁴ [the fifteenth day of the Kalends of August (18 July), in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1100]. The translator rendered this as ‘le dis-uitieme jor de juignet, l’an de l’Incarnacion .m. et .c.’⁵ [the eighteenth day of July, the year of the Incarnation 1100]. He changed the system of dating to one his audience would have been familiar with. However, the previous example is unusual because the translator usually does not provide the day and month.

In general, the translator’s system of dating refers to saints’s days. The dating for the death of Godfrey is explained by the fact that it did not occur on a major saint’s day. For the date that the army of the First Crusade was delayed at Antioch prior to resuming the march towards Jerusalem, the Latin gives ‘Kalendis Octobris’⁶ [the Kalends of October] while the French reads ‘la feste saint Remi’⁷ [the feast of St Remigius], both occurring on 1 October. The use of saints’s days also occurs with Amaury’s expedition into Egypt in 1165. The Latin

1 WT, 8.24 lines 51–53.

2 Paris, 8.24 vol. 1 p. 296.

3 Kalends is the first of the month, Nones is the fifth day (except March, May, July, and October, when it is the seventh), and Ides is the thirteenth day (except March, May, July, and October when it is the fifteenth).

4 WT, 9.23 lines 7–8.

5 Paris, 9.23 vol. 1 p. 330.

6 WT, 7.2 lines 13–14.

7 Paris, 7.2 vol. 1 p. 228.

reads 'quarto Idus Augusti',⁸ which is given as 'le jor de la feste saint Lorent' in the French⁹; again both occur on 10 August. In another example William cites the date of the coronation of Emperor Frederick I as 'sexto Kalendas Iulias'¹⁰ while the translator gives 'le jor de la feste aus dues martirs saint Jehan et saint Pol',¹¹ both 26 June. In general, the translator followed the Latin dates. One instance in which their dates do not agree is the election of William as archbishop of Tyre. In this case, 'VI Idus Iunii'¹² [7 June] is replaced with 'le jor de la feste saint Jehan et saint Pol'¹³ [26 June]. A possible explanation for this discrepancy is that the translator had simply made a mistake. As he correctly identified the dates of the feast of St John and St Paul with the sixth day before the Ides of July, it may be that the manuscript the translator was working with contained an erroneous reading, replacing 'Iulius' with 'Iunius', though this is not present in any of the extant Latin manuscripts.

On one occasion the translator fails to give a specific date that William gave. Here the translator replaces 'sexto decimo Kalendas Iulii'¹⁴ [16 June] for the death in Messina of Daimbert, patriarch of Jerusalem, with 'emmi le mois de juing'¹⁵ [in the middle of the month of June]. Huygens does not indicate any variations in the Latin manuscripts for this date. Therefore, the alteration appears to have been introduced by the translator. The term 'emmi', if used inexactly, could encompass 16 June, but more likely would refer to the fifteenth. Despite this vague example, the translator appears to have been accurate when changing the system of dating. During the description of Tyre in 1124, William noted that the city was captured by the Christians on 'tercio Kalendas Iulii',¹⁶ although the translation gives 'la darrenier jour de juing fors un'¹⁷ [the last day of June but one], both correspond to 29 June. Again, William cited 'tercio Kalendas Iulii'¹⁸ for the date of the battle of Dorylaeum in 1097, while the French has 'le tierz jor devant l'entrée de juignet'.¹⁹ Again both refer to 29 June.

8 WT, 19.9 line 57.

9 Paris, 19.8 vol. 2 p. 265.

10 WT, 18.2 line 27.

11 Paris, 18.2 vol. 2 p. 193.

12 WT, 21.8 line 80.

13 Paris, 21.8 vol. 2 p. 376.

14 WT, 11.4 line 12.

15 Paris, 11.4 vol. 1 p. 383.

16 WT, 13.14 lines 25–26.

17 Paris, 13.14 vol. 1 p. 494.

18 WT, 3.14 (13) lines 2–3.

19 Paris, 3.14 vol. 1 p. 102.

Here, it is interesting that the translator has used calendar dating, rather than his usual alternative dating system.

In general, William's preference for classical nomenclature and terminology was able to be understood by the translator. However, he regularly had to translate the Latin forms into the vernacular, particularly in regard to place names. Most names, such as 'Antiochena' or 'Ierosolima', had an equivalent in France, i.e., 'Antioche' and 'Jherusalem'. Some places were known under a different name. 'Edessa' is always rendered as 'Rohes', while 'Tyrensis' becomes 'Sur'. Certain bodies of water also had different names, with 'Ellespontana' [the Hellespont] becoming 'le Bras de Saint George', and 'Orontes' always given as 'flum de Fer'. In some cases, such as the Orontes River, William gave both the classical and vernacular terms, while the translator in general removed the classical term and retained the vernacular. There is an instance in which the translator adds a gloss to the text to ensure that his audience did not confuse two cities with similar names.

There are, however, few instances in which the translator appears unsure of William's designations. A major instance in which the translator provides an incorrect translation refers to the city of Barcelona, which William said was 'de Citeriore...Hispania'²⁰ [this side of Spain] but the translator replaced with 'en Navarre'.²¹ William was clearly referring to the eastern side of Spain, which comprised the old Roman province, not Navarre, which was in the north of Spain close to the Pyrenees. This shows that the translator was not always familiar with terminology used by William. The translator also appeared to have trouble with William's reference to the 'Longobardi'²² in a list of homelands of Italian merchants, which included Pisans, Genoese, and Venetians. The translator gives the names of these three but then adds 'li autre de autre mer'²³ [the others from over the sea] in place of the Longobards. Bernard Hamilton highlighted this particular alteration in his study of depiction of the reign of Baldwin IV.²⁴ There are several other points in which, on the surface at least, the translator appears to have been confused. These, however, may be the result of variants in the Latin manuscripts.

One such problem occurs in Book 3.18, in which William described the journey of the First Crusade eastwards across Anatolia and listed three cities that they passed: 'urbes Finiminis, Yconium et Heracleam pretergressi'²⁵ [passing by

²⁰ WT, 16.17 line 45.

²¹ Paris, 16.17 vol. 2 p. 116.

²² WT, 22.28 (27) line 11.

²³ Paris, 22.26 vol. 2 p. 458.

²⁴ Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 99.

²⁵ WT, 3.18 (17) lines 15–16.

the cities of Philomelium, Iconium, and Heracle]. The translator renders this as 'passerent delez .ii. citez: l'une avoit non Licoine et l'autre Eraclée'²⁶ [They passed close by to two cities, one called Licoine and the other Heracle]. The city of Philomelium (modern Akşehir in Turkey) has disappeared from the list. William again mentioned Philomelium in Book 4.20,²⁷ and this time the translator gives 'Finemine'.²⁸ Initially it seems strange that the translator would omit the first mention of the city but include it in the following book. Huygens, however, noted that, while the majority of the Latin manuscripts read 'Finiminis', two of them have alternative readings. One manuscript, Bibliothèque du Vatican, *lat.* 2002 (V), reads 'finitimis', while another, Paris, BnF, *lat.* 6066 (P), reads 'finitimas'.²⁹ This variant reading may have been in the exemplar used to make the translation, one related to these two manuscripts. However, the translation does not contain the autobiographical chapter of William of Tyre, which is found only in the Vatican manuscript. While the translator expressed an interest in William, and noted his studies in France, this is not conclusive proof that the translator had access to the extra chapter to hand.

In Book 12.4 William discussed Thoros (identified as Gabriel in these texts), the father-in-law of Baldwin II, described as 'nobilis Greci Gabrielis nomine'³⁰ [a noble Greek named Gabriel]. This is clearly an error, as Thoros was an Armenian and is clearly identified as such by William elsewhere in the text. In the Old French this is given as 'un haut home ermin qui ot non Gabriel'³¹ [a worthy Armenian man named Gabriel]. Again Huygens notes a variant in which 'nobilis' is replaced by 'hominis' in two related manuscripts, British Museum, Royal 14 C. X (B) and Magdalene College, Cambridge, F. 4. 22 (W). While this variant does not explain the obvious mistake, it is interesting that both words from the Latin texts are present in the French. It seems likely that the French text preserves the correct form that has been lost during copying errors in the Latin manuscripts. While the translation does appear to contain errors that have crept into the Latin manuscripts, it generally seems to have been made from a good early copy.

26 Paris, 3.18 vol. 1 p. 109.

27 WT, 4.20 line 17.

28 Paris, 4.20 vol. 1 p. 148.

29 Huygens, WT, 3.18 (17) line 15 note.

30 WT, 12.4 line 19.

31 Paris, 12.4 vol. 1, 439.

Lay Interest

That William of Tyre's *Historia* was translated from its original Latin into the vernacular to make it more accessible to the laity, the *Eracles* was not meant solely for a lay audience, even though many of the alterations to the text indicate that a lay audience was envisaged. William had written specifically for a learned ecclesiastical audience and filled his text with numerous scriptural and classical references. He also included material regarding church law and the precedence of various sees. In general the translator omitted nearly all of this material.

The translator appears to have retained a legal discussion from William's Book 17.14 that would have been particularly relevant for a lay audience, as it concerns the procedure for settling a dispute over land in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. During Baldwin III's minority, his mother, Queen Melisend, had acted as regent, with Humphrey de Toron as her advisor. Disputes arose when Baldwin came of age, with Melisend attempting to retain control of the kingdom. They reached an agreement in the end by which Melisend would abandon Jerusalem and instead retain the city of Nablus. William described the procedure for sealing the agreement: 'interpositis ex parte domini regis et prestitis corporaliter iuramentis'¹ [undertaken by the lord king, and with the oaths sworn bodily (i.e., holding the gospel book or relics)]. The translator replaced this: 'Li rois fist jurer dues barons en s'ame'² [The king had two barons swear on his soul]. This alteration has been highlighted by Hans Mayer, who pointed out that in the Latin text the emphasis was on Baldwin III taking an oath not to dispute Melisend's control over Nablus, while the French text has two barons acting in place of the king. This apparent alteration to the portrayal of the procedure shows two things concerning the translator and his audience. First, the fact that the translator kept this legal description shows that his audience took an interest in disputes. Second, the translator is aware of the procedure by which such an oath was sworn in France so that the legality and importance of the oath would be more immediately comprehensible to his audience.³

1 WT, 17.14 lines 61–62.

2 Paris, 17.14 vol. 2 p. 161.

3 H.E. Mayer, 'Eid und Handschlag bei den Kreuzfahrer Königen von Jerusalem', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 118 (2010), p. 69.

The translator also regularly added embellishments and set phrases to various scenes, particularly in regards to battles and depictions of wealth and opulence. These additions are generally stylistic and do not add information to the text. However, they do increase the imagery of the scenes of battle for an audience with a more direct knowledge of warfare. A particular example occurs in Book 7.3 describing the siege of Asaz (Hasart) by Ridwan of Aleppo. During this siege Duke Godfrey sent a letter to the lord of Asaz stating that he was coming to his aid, at which point William stated that the lord of Asaz attacked the besiegers, 'eosdem sponte lacesere non vereretur'⁴ [he did not fear to willingly attack his foe]. The translator renders this as 'Grant joie en ot, et en prist si grant hardement que il meismes issi fors aus portes et mena de sa gent assez, si que il assailli ceus de l'ost qu'il doutoit mout, n'avoit gueres de tans'⁵ [He was very happy and took such great strength from this that they likewise issued forth from the gates and brought so many of their men so that they attacked those of the host that they had feared much, it did not take much time]. While William had not mentioned the defenders leaving through the gate, it would have been necessary for them to do so in order to attack Ridwan's army. The translator has not added anything that could not be gleaned from the Latin but has altered the style of the narrative so as to give a more vivid portrayal. The translator adds a further comment on the city of Hasart that was definitely of lay interest. Following the naming of the city he adds 'Et sachiez que la fu trovez et de la vint li jeus de dez, qui einsint a non'⁶ [And you should know that from there came the game of dice that is named for it]. With the name of the fortress, Hasart, being a homophone to 'hasard' in French and 'azzardo' in Italian this statement was generally held to be correct. (A further example of this name being used to refer to the game of dice occurs in Dante's *Purgatorio*.⁷) Another stylistic addition relating to the emotions felt by those under siege occurs in Book 14.25. The chapter relates to the siege of Montferrand by Imad al-Din Zengi in 1137 in which Zengi was able to maintain the siege by defeating a relief force. William related the suffering of those within the fortress and the translator complied. At the end of the chapter, however, the translator adds 'ce meismes que cil dehors dotoient que l'en les levast du siege, les fesoit plus angousseusement emprendre la besoigne'⁸ [and similarly they feared that

4 WT, 7.3 lines 39–40.

5 Paris, 7.3 vol. 1 p. 230.

6 Paris, 7.3 vol. 1 p. 229.

7 Dante Alighieri, 'Purgatorio', *Comedia*, ed. F. Sanguineti (Tavarnuzze, 2001), Canto VI line 1, p. 216.

8 Paris, 14.25 vol. 2 p. 39.

those outside would increase their attacks and commit most cruel deeds in order to complete this undertaking]. While the translator added no new information regarding the siege, and it is quite clear that Zengi's forces were superior to those of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and that the outcome of the siege obvious, he added this text in order to enhance the valour of those fighting a lost cause on Christ's behalf.

Ecclesiastical Material

The reduction of biblical and classical material and an increased interest in lay affairs seems at first a reflection that the translator had little interest in ecclesiastical affairs. That the *Historia* was translated into Old French implies that it was created for a lay audience. This impression is enhanced by the fact that much of the material of an ecclesiastical nature was omitted. However, all the ecclesiastical material was not removed, and it does not mean that the translator had no interest in such matters.

Material that related to legal disputes within the church over the questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was frequently omitted, as was other material that would have been of little interest to a lay audience. For instance in Book 4.9, which discusses the city of Antioch, William was explicit in stating the esteem in which the church of Antioch was held and cited specific examples of its prominence.

Est autem Antiochia civitas gloriosa et nobilis, tercium vel potius secundum—nam de hoc maxima questio est—post urbem Romam dignitatis gradum sortita, omnium provinciarum, quas tractus continet Orientalis, princeps et moderatrix.¹

[Antioch, however, is a famous and noble city, prince and governess over all of the provinces of the East, third, or rather second—for of this there is a very great dispute—in rank after the city of Rome.]

The translation reads ‘Antioche est une mout noble citéz qui a le tierz leu entre les patriarches, après l’eglise de Rome’² [Antioch is a noble city which is third amongst the patriarchates, after the Church of Rome]. While the translator keeps the statement that Antioch was second (or at least third) only to Rome in prestige, he drops the repeated mention of this and also the assertion that Antioch was the leading church of the East. William added a reference to Canon II of the Council of Constantinople and Canon VI of the Council of Nicaea, which expressly state Antioch’s primacy.

¹ WT, 4.9 lines 1–5.

² Paris, 4.9 vol. 1 p. 133.

Que omnes uno nomine, *Oriens* videlicet, nuncupantur, sicut ex synodo Constantinopolitana colloquitur, que sic habet: *Orientis autem episcopi solius Orientis curam gerant, servato honore primatus ecclesie Antiochene, qui in regulis Nicene synodi continetur.*³

[What they are all with one name called, namely the East, just as it was spoken of by the synod of Constantinople which says: *let the bishops of the East manage the East alone, observing the primacy of honour of the Church in Antioch, which is contained in the canons of Nicaea.*]

While the translator retains William's sentiments regarding the prestige of Antioch, he must have felt that an extended discussion on the rights of Antioch, including quotations from synodal decrees, was not necessary for his audience. While the learned ecclesiastical audience, for whom William was writing would find this legal discussion of interest, a lay audience would not necessarily be as interested.

Though the translator regularly deletes detailed discussion of ecclesiastical disputes, he adds a reference to the ecumenical councils at Nicaea and retains the entirety of William's discussion. In Book 3.1 the city of Nicaea is described, but much of the chapter is devoted to the two ecumenical councils held there in 325 and 787. William listed the rulers at the time for each council and was specific about the reasons for the councils. For the first council he stated:

In hac enim, temporibus domini Silvestri pape et viri venerabilis Alexandri Constantinopolitani patriarche et predicti Constantini Augusti, sancta synodus trecentorum decem et octo patrum adversus impietates Arrii et sequacium suorum congregata est, que, eorum pernicioso langore dampnato et sanctorum testimoniis veritate declarata, universe ecclesie dei fidei formam intemeratam prebuit.⁴

[In the time of Pope Silvester and the venerable man, Alexander, patriarch of Constantinople, and the aforesaid emperor Constantine, a Holy Synod of three hundred and eighteen fathers gathered against the impiety of Arius and his followers, in order to condemn his wicked words and declare the truth of Holy testimony, the pure form of faith bestowed on the universal Church by God.]

This council is particularly famous for establishing the first form of the Nicene Creed, which established the divinity of Christ against the Arian view that Christ

3 WT, 4.9 lines 40–44.

4 WT, 3.1 lines 5–12.

was made by God and not himself divine, as well as establishing the date for Easter. For the second council of Nicaea, William stated:

In hac eadem postmodum tempore domini Constantini Augusti piissimi, Yrene filii, iterum convenit septima synodus generalis adversus iconomachos, id est impugnatores sanctarum imaginum, sub domino Adriano Romano pontifice et viro venerabili Tharasio Constantinopolitano patriarcha, in qua predicti heretici dignam pro meritis ab orthodoxa ecclesia contra suam perfidiam dampnationis tulerunt sententiam.⁵

[Later, also in the time of a most pious emperor Constantine (VI), son of Irene, the seventh general synod gathered against the iconoclasts, that is the opponents of sacred images, under Adrian (I), the Roman pontiff, and the venerable Tarasius, patriarch of Constantinople, in which they condemned the aforesaid heretics for their treachery against the orthodox Church.]

The translator keeps the entirety of this discussion.

Car eu tens saint Silvestre l'apostoile estoit patriarches de Costantinoble Alixandres, empereres Constantins. Arrius estoit uns mescréanz qui mesprenoit ez poinz de la foi, et mainte gent le suivoient en ce. Por ce s'assemblerent en la cité de Nique au concile .iii.^{c.} et .xviii. prelaz, et fu iluec disputé contre ces popelicans. Par les tesmoins des Escriptures et par l'acort des sainz homes qui la estoient, fu dampnez Arrius et sa mescréance. Puis apres, eu tens a un autre Constantin empereur qui fu filz Yrene, se rasembla un autre concile iluec meismes, qui fu setiesmes: lors estoit Adriens apostoiles de Rome, Tareses patriarches de Costantinoble. La furent dampné une manière de mescréanz qui disoient que toutes les images que l'en fet en Sainte église estoient contre foi, et cil estoient desloial et faus crestien qui les i souffroient.⁶

[In the time that St Silvester was pope, Alexander was patriarch of Constantinople and Constantine was emperor. Arius was a wicked man who erred in a point of the faith, and many men followed him in this. Because of this, there assembled at a council in the city of Nicaea three hundred and eighteen prelates and there they argued against these publicans. Through the evidence of the scriptures and by the agreement of the holy men who were there, this Arius and his wickedness was condemned.

5 WT, 3.1 lines 12–18.

6 Paris, 3.1 vol. 1 p. 88.

Afterwards, in the time of another emperor Constantine, who was the son of Irene, another council assembled in the same place, which was the seventh (council). Adrian, the apostle of Rome and Tarasius, the patriarch of Constantinople were present. There was condemned a type of wickedness which said that all of the images that can be found the Holy Church were against the faith, and these were disloyal and false Christians that they resisted in this matter.]

The translator is particularly damning in his treatment of heretics, with the additional phrase that the iconoclasts were 'desloial et faus crestiens' [faithless and false Christians], clearly believing that criticism of heresy should be retained. He makes another addition in Book 16.19, during the background to Chalcedon, which related to the heresy of Eutyches and the Council of Chalcedon in 451. William gave a brief mention of the heresy and its beliefs.

Hec est Calcedon urbs antiqua, ubi quarta sexcentorum triginta sex patrum convenit sancta synodus tempore domini Marciani Augusti et domini Leonis Romani pontificis, contra Euticetem monachum et abbatem, qui unam tantum in domino Iesu Christo asserebat naturam.⁷

[Chalcedon is an ancient city where, when Marcian was emperor and Leo was the Roman pontiff, six hundred and thirty-six fathers gathered at the fourth Holy Synod, against Eutyches, a monk and abbot, who asserted that Jesus Christ had only one nature.]

The translator expands on this.

Calcedoine: c'est une mout ancienne citez ou jadis sist un des quatre granz conciles; la furent assemble .vi.^{c.} et .xxxvi. prelat au tens Marcien l'empereur et Leon l'apostoile de Rome. lors fu iluec damnée l'erisie d'un abé qui avoit non Eutices; car il disoit que Jhesucriz n'avoit eue que une seule nature; mais la foi crestienne est ceste, que il fu vraiment deus et hom.⁸

[Chalcedon: this is a very ancient city where one of the four great councils met. Six hundred and thirty-six prelates assembled there in the time of the emperor Marcian and Leo, the apostle of Rome. There they condemned the heresy of an abbot who was named Eutyches; he had said

7 WT, 16.19 lines 30–34.

8 Paris, 16.19 vol. 2 p. 119.

that Jesus Christ did not have more than a single nature. But the Christian faith is this: that he is truly God and man.]

The translator, far more vehement against Eutyches, adds an explicit statement concerning the correct Christian view regarding the nature of Christ. Prior to the reference to the Arian heresy, he stated that the First Council of Nicaea was 'li primerains des quatre granz conciles avoit iluec sis'⁹ [the first of four great councils held there]. This is similar to the statement about the Council of Chalcedon referring to 'quatre granz conciles'. Even though the translator removed much of the ecclesiastical material, he evidently had an understanding of the early church councils and in the teachings of the Church.

In Book 11.12 William included a transcription of a charter issued by Baldwin I that granted the church at Bethlehem the status of a cathedral. This was conferred because it was held that Bethlehem, as the birthplace of Christ, should not be allowed to remain solely a priory.¹⁰ This was clearly a significant symbolic move, though also a practical one, since Bethlehem was historically subject to the bishop of Ascalon, while Ascalon was in Muslim control (and would remain so until 1153).¹¹ This matter was given considerable attention, with William devoting eighty lines of his text to reproducing the charter.¹² In the translation, however, this chapter is much shorter, with the translator completely removing William's transcript of the charter. Instead, since the topic was clearly still of importance, he provides a summary of the major points of the charter, but drops the legal terminology. The translation even lacks the names of Western crusaders who wanted to elevate the church in Bethlehem, such as Robert of Flanders, Tancred, and Robert of Normandy, simply relating 'par le conseil des barons et du clergie de la terre'.¹³ The translator does keep reference to two of the Eastern prelates, Arnulf, the archdeacon, and Aichardus, the dean of the Holy Sepulchre, who travelled to Rome to seek confirmation for the elevation of the church. The translation also includes the list of properties belonging to the church in Bethlehem.

By retaining William's view that the raising of the church at Bethlehem to the position of a cathedral was worthy of being repeated, the translator decided that it was something his audience should know. The rights of the church at

9 Paris, 3.1 vol. 1 p. 88.

10 *Die Urkunden der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem*, vol. 1, ed. H.E. Mayer and J. Richard (Hannover, 2010), no. 40, pp. 159–164.

11 B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London, 1980), p. 59.

12 WT, 11.12 lines 10–90.

13 Paris, 11.12 vol. 1 p. 398.

Bethlehem had become an issue following the capture of Ascalon by Baldwin III in 1153. Following the siege there was a proposal to elect a bishop of Ascalon, and a canon of the Holy Sepulchre named Absalom was chosen. Gerard, the bishop of Bethlehem, protested that the church at Ascalon ought by rights to be part of his diocese. The dispute was taken to Rome, where the pope confirmed the right of the bishop of Bethlehem over Ascalon.¹⁴ This passage is present in both the Latin and French texts, with no alterations in the translation. This example shows that the translator did not remove all ecclesiastical material but often streamlined the narrative for a different audience.

The practice of summarising charters and letters inserted by William as part of a general narrative is consistently adopted. Another example occurs in Book 11.28. This chapter discusses Baldwin I's request that Pope Paschal II grant the church of Jerusalem jurisdiction over all of the lands in the East that would be conquered by the Christians.¹⁵ In the Latin this is a particularly large chapter, with 160 lines of text, of which 130 lines comprise the transcriptions of the papal letters regarding this matter.¹⁶ This granting of jurisdiction to the church in Jerusalem caused much controversy because jurisdiction over many of these dioceses had previously belonged to the church of Antioch. Bernard, the patriarch of Antioch, was vocal in his complaint that he was being deprived of his rights. The resolution was that the church of Antioch was granted those lands that had formerly been under its control in ancient times, but the episode was clearly divisive for the clergy in the East and, because of the implications for his province of Tyre, William devoted a great deal of attention to it. The inclusion of the papal letters shows that this was a major dispute with legal implications. The French translation, however, shows that the translator felt that the general topic was of interest but that the detailed discussion and use of the letters to show the legal basis for the dispute were of no particular importance in the West. In the Paris edition this chapter comprises a mere 14 lines, in contrast with William's 160. It contains the salient points—the request of Baldwin, the complaint by the church of Antioch, and the decision that Antioch should retain control over its former territories—but only provides a summary of the events.¹⁷ As in the charter concerning the church of Bethlehem, the translator has softened William's emphasis on the jurisdiction of the churches in the East.

14 WT, 17.30 lines 37–55; Paris, 17.30 vol. 2 p. 189.

15 Cf. Y. Katzir, 'The Patriarch of Jerusalem, Primate of the Latin Kingdom', *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 169–175.

16 WT, 11.28 lines 1–160.

17 Paris, 11.28 vol. 1 p. 427.

A major event that is strongly ecclesiastical in nature, the speech of Urban II at Clermont prior to the First Crusade in 1095, has been shortened by the translator. While Urban's speech has received much attention from historians, it is unclear whether any of the accounts give an adequate summary. The five versions reputedly based on the accounts of those who claimed to have been present, or to have obtained accounts from those who were there, differ from one another.¹⁸ William's account is markedly different from these earlier sources, and his version should be seen as a literary exercise in which he composed a speech for Urban that had more to do with his own views on the subject than anything the pope actually said. William put into Urban's mouth a speech while covering the general themes discussed in Clermont added his own examples and numerous references to the Old Testament. This is again a long chapter in the Latin, covering 133 lines.¹⁹ The speech in the Old French translation is considerably shortened, with the verbosity and biblical quotations being removed so that the passage now comprises only 19 lines.²⁰ While William excessively discusses the sorrows of Jerusalem, including relevant scripture, the translation simply states that the pope 'fit un mout bel sermon a tout le concile, et leur mostra que grans hontes estoit a touz crestiens'²¹ [made a very good sermon to the council, and showed them the great shame that had been brought to all Christianity]. The translator brings the chapter to a close with a list of the various benefits that the crusaders would receive, such as remission of sin.

The lack of detail in this sermon indicates that the translator's audience would have preferred a succinct account that would provide the particulars of the reason for the crusade without William's prowess at writing a lament on Jerusalem. Perhaps interest in Urban's speech at Clermont was not as strong at the time of the translation as was a focus on the reasons for the crusade and on the crusaders themselves. The translation lacks William's extended lamentation over the plight of Jerusalem and instead concentrates on the East as the land of Christ, on the location of holy sites, and on the difficulties faced by those who undertook the crusade. This interest is exemplified by a substantive addition made in the next chapter concerning preparations being made for the First Crusade after the Council at Clermont.

18 D.C. Munro, 'The Speech of Urban II, at Clermont, 1095', *American Historical Review* 11.2 (1906), p. 231.

19 WT, 1.15 lines 1–133.

20 Paris, 1.14 and 15 vol. 1, pp. 28–29.

21 Paris, 1.14 and 15 vol. 1 p. 28.

Bien savez que fort chose est et griez a lessier son pais, sa femme et ses enfans et son lignage, et a guerpir ce que l'en aime par nature; més quant l'en s'apense quel gerredon l'en attend de ce fere, et Nostre Sires met une amor et une tendreur de soi en cuer du pecheur, n'a point de pooir naturels amors contré la charité Dame Dieu, ne la char contre l'ame. En cele chose le pot-l'en apercevoir certainement; car la gent du regne de France et li grant baron et li mendres pueples qui estoient si acostumé a pechiez et desacostumé de bien fere, si com je vos ai dit desus, puis que il oient cele parole, empristrent si viguerousement la besoigne Dame Dieu et se voèrent a ce pelerinage com vous orrez. Car il sembloit que chascuns déüst su soi prendre tous seus a vengier le tort et la honte que li Mescréant fesoient a Nostre Seigneur et a son pueple en sa terre de Jherusalem.²²

[Know well what a difficult and troublesome thing it is to leave your country, your wife, your children and your family, and to give up those things that you enjoy. But when they understood what the reward would be for this, and Our Lord put love and tenderness in each of their hearts of sin, no earthly love had power over the mercy of God, nor the body over the soul. In this thing one can certainly see that the men of the Kingdom of France, the great barons and the lesser people, who were accustomed to sin and not accustomed to good works, just as I have told you above, vigorously undertook the need of God when they heard these words and set out on this pilgrimage, as you shall hear. For it seemed that each one had taken it upon himself to avenge the wrongs and the shame that the unbelievers had done to Our Lord and to His people in His land of Jerusalem.]

Unlike the ecclesiastical audience intended for William's *Historia*, the *Eracles* was clearly intended for a mixed audience. It appealed, in particular, to those who were descended from participants of the First Crusade, with the focus of the narrative shifted to the deeds of the participants of the First Crusade and the defence of the heritage of Christ. The translator retained enough ecclesiastical material, even adding some of his own, to make the text appealing to a clerical audience. The clergy, furthermore, cannot be completely separated from the laity, and doubtless many, especially those in the lower orders and those with less competence in Latin, would have found the translation appealing.

22 Paris, 1.16 vol. 1 pp. 29–30.

Background to French Crusaders and France

Much of the material added by the translator relates either to French crusaders who went on either the First or Second Crusades or about where in France they came from. Information, in a few cases, has been added to events in France that William mentioned, though these additions generally comprise short statements of information. A number of detailed additions appear to cover topics of interest to the translator which indicate that he was working in the Île de France, Champagne, or elsewhere in northern France. The translator changed the narrative of Peter the Hermit returning from Jerusalem to request a crusade from Pope Urban II. William related that, following his appeal to the pope, Peter crossed the Alps to request aid from Western princes, stating ‘*Petrus autem, omnem transcurrens Italiam, zelo divino succensus, Alpes transiens, Occidentales principes omnes il circuit, instat sollicitus, increpat, arguit*’¹ [Peter condemned this, however. Aflame with divine zeal, crossing over all of Italy and the Alps he went round rebuking all of the Western princes, pressing them relentlessly]. The translator has altered this to read that Peter went to the barons of the Kingdom of France: ‘*Pierres fu moût liez du bon respons l’Apostoile. Si passa Lombardie et les monz [et vint en France]. Si commença à chercher les Barons et à requerre-les touz ausi com s’il fust envoiez nomeément à chascun*’² [Peter was very angry with the pope’s reply. So he crossed Lombardy and the mountains and came into France. He sought out the barons and entreated with them, as if he had gone to each one particularly]. This type of alteration is seen again where William spoke about a Turk from Arabia coming after the capture of Jerusalem to see those from the West who had conquered the East: ‘*Audierat enim multorum relatione de populi huius viribus et gloria, qui ab Occidente descendens per tot terrarum spacia et tantam laborum multiplicitatem universum sibi Orientem subiecerat*’³ [He had heard many tales of this strong and glorious people who, coming from the West, had spread through all of the land and had through such great labour subjected all of the East to themselves]. The translator replaces ‘*ab Occidente*’ with ‘*de France*’ so that the text reads ‘*desiroit trop grant piece à veoir et à acointier cele gent de France*

1 WT, 1.13 lines 45–47.

2 Paris, 1.13 vol. 1 p. 27.

3 WT, 9.22 lines 17–19.

dont il avoit tant oï parler, qui d'Occident estoient venu vers Orient et si grant terre avoient mise au desouz⁴ [He had desired a long time to see and to meet these men from France that he had heard spoken of so much, that had come from the West to the East and had conquered such a great land].

The translator adds, following the capture of Antioch, that the subsequent victory over Kerbogha on 28 June 1098 brought honour to all Christianity, but particularly to the Kingdom of France: 'Ceste bone aventure qui ennora toute Crestienté, nomeement le roiaume de France'⁵ [This worthy expedition which honoured all of Christendom, particularly the Kingdom of France]. In general, the translator has not made major changes to William's depictions of prominent figures in the history of the crusades and the Latin East, such as Godfrey de Bouillon or Raymond of Toulouse. There are, however, places in which the translator and William express conflicting opinions about other participants. An example of this is the portrayal of Renaud de Châtillon.

The *Eracles* expands on information for a number of prominent participants in the First Crusade. Of particular interest are the additions relating to Godfrey de Boulogne. Book 9.5 discusses the issue of Godfrey following his election to rule Jerusalem. Godfrey's valour is discussed in this chapter, as are his family history and place of origin. William described the latter with: 'Oriundus vero fuit de regno Francorum, de Remensi provincia, civitate Boloniensi, que est secus Mare Anglicum sita'⁶ [He was born in the city of Boulogne, which is by the English Channel, in the province of Rheims, in the Kingdom of France], while the French has 'Il fu nez eu regne de France, a Boloigne seur la mer qui fu jadis citez; or est chastiaus en l'eveschié de Terouenne'⁷ [He was born in the Kingdom of France, in Boulogne on the sea, which was formerly a city, but now it is a castle in the bishopric of Théroutanne]. This alteration shows the tendency to switch from a classical system using provinces to identify place to one based on its local bishopric. In this the translator shows his awareness of the particular bishopric Boulogne was a part of, and perhaps also his awareness of the local politics and events, that Boulogne had become a *château* in the bishopric and was no longer an independent city.⁸ Such particular additions may shed light on the translator's allegiances and possibly the dating of the translation.

4 Paris, 9.22 vol. 1 p. 329.

5 Paris, 6.22 vol. 1 p. 224.

6 WT, 9.5 lines 8–10.

7 Paris, 9.5 vol. 1 p. 303.

8 Paris, vol. 1 p. 303 n 2: 'La château différait de la cité en ce que, dans celle-ci, le pouvoir public était aux bourgeois, tandis que le château, consistant en forteresse et faubourgs, dépendait du seigneur'.

The county of Boulogne, like Normandy and Flanders, considered itself generally independent of the Capetian monarchy.⁹ In 1191 Renaud, the son of Alberic II count of Dammartin, acquired the county of Boulogne following upon his father's abduction of and marriage to Ida de Lorraine, the heiress to the county of Boulogne. While Philip II confirmed this in 1192, Renaud in 1197 entered into an English alliance with Richard I and in 1199 renewed it with John. Philip II had been expanding his control over what is now northern France through the conquest of Normandy as well as inheriting portions of Valois and Vermandois. Renaud's alliances threatened Philip's position, and, as a result, he attempted to regain the loyalty of the county of Boulogne by offering to marry his son, Philip Hurepel, to Renaud's daughter and heir as well as offering Renaud land in Normandy in exchange for the strategically important castle of Mortemer. Although Renaud received support from Philip in his campaigns in Guines and had become a royal counsellor, he maintained his connections with the Angevin court. Around 1210 Philip forced Renaud, along with other northern counts, to swear an oath to break off all contact with John's court and reconfirm his earlier promises to him under the threat of losing his fiefs. When a dispute arose between the bishop of Beauvais, Philip de Dreux, related to Philip II, and the countess of Clermont, Renaud's cousin,¹⁰ Philip requested aid from Renaud, who ignored the plea and began to fortify Mortain in Normandy. Philip demanded that Mortain be surrendered to him by 8 September 1211 as a gesture of Renaud's loyalty. Renaud refused and Philip took Mortain after a siege of four days. Philip declared Renaud to be in default and began to claim his lands as well as demand oaths from other northern lords that they would not aid Renaud. However, Renaud continued his alliances with John and with the emperor Otto of Brunswick and was aligned with them against Philip at the battle of Bouvines in 1214.¹¹ In 1216 the county passed to Renaud's daughter Matilda, who married Philip's son, Philip Hurepel, in 1218. In this Boulogne came under the control of the French monarchy and lost its semi-independent status.¹² The addition in the translation that Boulogne was a new *château* and no longer a *cité* reflected these events that had brought Boulogne under the control of the French crown. The additional note that Boulogne was under the bishopric of Thérouanne further diminishes the status of Boulogne. If this was

9 J.W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1986), p. 200.

10 J. Bradbury, *Philip Augustus: King of France 1180–1223* (London, 1998), pp. 290–291.

11 Guillaume le Breton, 'Vie de Philippe Auguste', *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. H.F. Delaborde, vol. 1 (Paris, 1882), pp. 242–320.

12 Baldwin, pp. 200–202.

indicative of the new status of Boulogne under Philip Hurepel, the translation would not have been made prior to Philip acquiring the county in 1218. The reference, however, may also refer to the construction of a castle at Boulogne by Philip when he acquired control of the area, one of several fortifications that he built during his conflict with Blanche of Castile and the minor Louis IX, which began with the death of his brother Louis VIII in 1226.¹³

The translator added no additional material from the legends in the *Chansons de Geste* that developed around Godfrey de Bouillon, such as *Le Chevalier au Cygne*, or portrayed him as one of the nine worthies. This is an indication that the translator did not have any particular interest in Godfrey beyond his role in the First Crusade, a general pattern of adding bits of information concerning crusaders from France.

In the list of nobles from France who undertook the crusade William included Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres, and that he was the father of Count Thibaut IV of Blois and II of Champagne.¹⁴ To this the translator adds 'qui gist à Leigny'¹⁵ [who is buried in Lagny]. When it was described in the seventeenth century, Thibaut's tomb was still in the Benedictine abbey of St Pierre in Lagny-sur-Marne, possibly above the tomb of St Thibaut de Provins, who died in 1066.¹⁶ Count Thibaut seems to have had a particularly close relationship with this abbey, likely due it being the burial place of St Thibaut, and visited it frequently.¹⁷ The translator again added information about central France to William's text that indicates associations with the Île de France, but may also link the translator to a visit to the abbey or from another source rather than associations with the counts of Blois and Champagne.

Additional information is given concerning crusaders who died at the siege of Nicaea in 1097. Baldwin Chauderon is described by the translator as a 'riches hom et bons chevaliers, nez de Berri' [a rich man and good knight, born in Berry]. Baldwin de Ghent is identified as 'de Flandres...preuz et hardiz' [from Flanders...worthy and bold], and Guy de Possesse, who died from an illness, is described as 'uns bers de Champaigne'¹⁸ [a baron from Champagne]. None of these three were prominent in William's text, while all are given a strong presence in *La Chanson d'Antioche* with a stanza and a half devoted to them.

13 J. Richard, *Saint Louis: roi d'une France féodale, soutien de la Terre sainte* (Paris, 1983), pp. 42–44.

14 WT, 1.17 lines 5–7.

15 Paris, 1.17 vol. 1, p. 31.

16 Dom Changy, 'L'abbaye royale de Saint-Pierre de Lagny', *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 1 (1876), pp. 246–250; I am deeply indebted to Prof. T. Evergates for this reference.

17 *Recueil des Actes d'Henri le Liberal*, ed. J. Benton and M. Bur (Paris, 2009), pp. 21–22, no. 15.

18 Paris, 3.6 vol. 1 p. 93.

De Guion de Processe vous voel dire la vie.
 Li ber se fist sainnier, çou fu grand folie
 quar, si con Dex le vot, mors fu de la sainie.
 Bauduïns Cauderons cel jor perdi la vie;
 li ber fu mout malades, ne pooit garir mie;
 en sa tente gisoit, ki toute estoit delie,
 Turc gientent la perriere quant la tente ont coisie,
 dans Bauduïns de Gant ot la teste froisie

...

Or vous dirai après no baron,
 iluec, defors la vile a .i. marbrin perron,
 la ont fait .i. moustier el non Saint Simïon,
 la porterent le cors par grant devotïon.
 La nuit les ont gaitiés Flamenc et Borgignon,
 .xxx. lamps ardans esprendent environ
 desi a l'endemain, c'ont oï la sermon.
 Puis ont le cors porté en l'autre saint Simon.
 Une fose orent faite, s'i misent ens Guion,
 et en une autre misent Bauduïn Cauderon
 et Bauduïn de Gant en la terre selon.¹⁹

[At this point I should tell you what happened to Guy of Porsese. He fell ill and was suffering badly; he had himself bled, and that turned out to be a very bad idea, because something went wrong and he died as a result. Baldwin Cauderon lost his life on the same day. He was very ill, lying in his luxuriously equipped tent and beyond medical help. Meanwhile the Turks were catapulting stones, and one of them landed right near the tent; it smashed Baldwin of Ghent's head to smithereens so that bits of brain flew halfway across the tent...Would you like to hear what the lords did next? Outside the town next to a flight of steps was a church dedicated to St Simeon. They reverently carried the bodies to it. That night men from Flanders and Burgundy mounted a vigil, lighting 30 candles round the bodies that burned until the sermon was given the following day. They carried the bodies to a round churchyard, dug a grave, and laid Guy and Baldwin of Ghent and Baldwin Cauderon to rest in it.²⁰]

19 *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. J. Nelson (Tuscaloosa, 2003), lines 2161–91, pp. 109–110.

20 *The Chanson d'Antioche: An Old French Account of the First Crusade*, trans. S. Edgington and C. Sweetenham (Farnham, 2011), *laisses* 75 and 76, pp. 146–147.

In lieu of a detailed description of the funeral, William simply related that 'Guido quoque de Porsessa, vir nobilis de regno Francorum, valida ibidem correptus egritudine, carne solutus est'²¹ [also Guy de Possesse, a noble man from the Kingdom of France, was seized by a strong illness and left this world], while the translation has 'En ce tens meismes fu morz en l'ost de sa maladie Guis de Possesse, uns ber de Champaigne, larges mout et bons chevaliers'²² [at this time Guy de Possesse, a baron from Champagne, also died in the host from illness, a very lavish man and a good knight].

While the translator's phrasing is similar to that of other Old French vernacular texts, such as *La Chanson d'Antioche* and other *Chansons de Geste*, and he expanded on similar themes, he did not directly add material from these sources. The information added was common knowledge that would have been known to any educated cleric working at the end of Philip II's reign. For instance, in Book 9.13 William related how Robert, duke of Normandy, returned home with the count of Flanders and fought against his brother, Henry I of England, over his right to the Norman lands.²³ The translator retains this account but adds the location of the battle 'a Tenechbrai'²⁴ [at Tinchebray]. This battle in 1106 ended with the capture of Robert by Henry and his subsequent imprisonment, with the result that Henry ruled the kingdom of England as well as the duchy of Normandy. The outcome of this battle, which deprived the kings of France of territory that owed them allegiance, would have been well known to those associated with the Capetian monarchs, especially true at the time of Philip II and his regular conflicts with Richard I and John of England.

Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres, is a crusader the translator might be expected to have taken an interest in. Stephen's abandonment of the First Crusade at Antioch earned him a great deal of criticism from Christian writers, particularly the author of *La Chanson d'Antioche*.²⁵ If the translator was using these texts to add to William's, it would be expected that he would add negative commentary. However, he did not; he kept William's description of Stephen in Book 10.11 when detailing his preparations for the crusade in 1101.

Stephanus Carnotensium et Blesensium comes, vir prudens et magni consilii, qui capta Antiochia futurum prelium reformidans cum probro et

21 WT, 3.6 (5) lines 35–37.

22 Paris, 3.6 vol. 1 p. 94.

23 WT, 9.13 lines 23–31.

24 Paris, 9.13 vol. 1 p. 315.

25 'Il vosist mout mius estre a Blois en se maison', *Chanson d'Antioche* line 1788, p. 99; cf. J. Brundage 'An Errant Crusader: Stephen of Blois', *Traditio* 16 (1960), pp. 380–395.

ignominia consortes deseruit et turpi fuga perpetuam emit infamiam: hic priorem querens defectum redimere et abolere meritam prius infamiam ad iter se preparat, honestum sibi asciscens comitatum.²⁶

[Stephen, the count of Chartres and Blois, an intelligent man and of great counsel, who deserted before Antioch was captured, fleeing battle with disgrace and ignominy for company and gained perpetual disgrace by his infamous flight. Seeking to redeem himself for this previous act and to absolve this prior, deserved, infamy, he prepared himself for this journey by surrounding himself with honest counts.]

The French reads:

li cuens Estienes de Chartres et de Blois, sages hom et de grant conseil. Icist, si com vos oistes desus, s'em parti honteusement d'Antioche por peor de batailles que il doutoit; or s'estoit porpensés que il n'avoit mie fete s'enneur, por ce s'efforçoit mout de retorner, a grant plenté d'avoir et a bele compaignie de gent.²⁷

[Count Stephen of Chartres and Blois, a wise man and of great counsel. The same, as you heard above, left shamefully from Antioch for fear of battle. Now he reflected that he had not done his honour any good. Because of this he strove to return and was surrounded by many good men.]

The only negative addition made by the translator concerning Stephen occurs at his death at the Second Battle of Ramla in 1102, described in Book 10.19. The translator recalls the criticism he had received for his earlier actions by adding 'dont lede parole avoit esté sur lui deca et dela'²⁸ [that disgrace for which he had been spoken about on this side (of the sea) and the other]. Paris noted that he believed the translator had *La Chanson d'Antioche* in mind with this addition.²⁹ While this may be true, the translator certainly did not add any further negative comment on the count of Blois, and maintains William's stance that Stephen was able to redeem himself through his martyrdom.³⁰ The translator remained fairly close to William's narrative and does not seem to have enhanced the prominence of particular crusaders from Champagne and northern France by the introduction of material from other crusade texts. Instead, he adds

26 WT, 10.11 (12) lines 15–20.

27 Paris, 10.11 vol. 1 pp. 346–347.

28 Paris, 10.19 vol. 1 p. 360.

29 Paris, 10.19 vol. 1 p. 360 n. 1.

30 WT, 10.19 (20) lines 37–49; Paris, 10.19 vol. 1 pp. 360–361.

information regarding persons or places being discussed, without bias towards any particular members of the First Crusade.

At times the translator repeated material from William's work earlier in the text. For example, William did not include Godfrey de Esch-sur-Sêre in his initial list of nobles embarking on the Crusade, although his brother Henry was included.³¹ (Alan Murray has suggested that the prominence given to Henry in the sources may indicate that Henry was the elder brother.³²) William only mentioned Godfrey twice in his text. The first occasion is in Book 2.1, when he is included with the group travelling with Godfrey de Bouillon with the phrase 'dominus Henricus de Ascha et Godefridus, frater eius'³³ [lord Henry de Eschesu-Sûre and Godfrey, his brother]. The French text uses the same phrase, 'Henris de Hasque et Godefroiz ses freres',³⁴ but had included the phrase earlier in Book 1.17.³⁵ Godfrey also appears in Book 2.2 as a messenger sent to the king of Hungary by Godfrey de Bouillon. Both the Latin and the French include this episode. There is no elaboration of Godfrey's role on the Crusade. The additional mention of him is likely due to the translator's familiarity with the entire text and adding Godfrey since he would likely have been with his brother when the crusade departed. The translator had not referred to Godfrey being with the army at Constantinople and Antioch, despite such references being found in Albert of Aachen.³⁶ It both seems that the translator knew William's text well and was not expanding upon it with other sources.

Throughout the *Eracles* an emphasis is placed on the 'gent de France' as those who had carried out the First Crusade. An example of this occurs in Book 4.20, which describes the arrival of Sven the Crusader, son of Sven II, king of Denmark, in 1097.³⁷ The translator adds that he 'avoit oi dire en sa terre que li baron du roiaume de France et li autre vaillant home de la terre estoient alé en pelerinage outré mer por guerrier Sarrazins'³⁸ [had heard tell in his land that the barons of the Kingdom of France and the other valiant men of the land that had gone on pilgrimage over the sea in order to wage war against the Sarrazins]. The translator was clearly writing for an audience who would identify

31 WT, 1.17 line 20.

32 A. Murray *The Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Dynastic History 1099–1125* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 205 and 209.

33 WT, 2.1 lines 16–17.

34 Paris, 2.1 vol. 1 p. 55.

35 Paris, 1.17 vol. 1 p. 32.

36 Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana*, ed. and trans. S.B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp. 76 and 200.

37 J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders: 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 95.

38 Paris, 4.20 vol. 1 pp. 147–148.

themselves with the 'gent de France' and their ancestors, as well as at the end of the reign of Philip II when the monarchy had gained wealth and power. Several instances of alterations to the text reflect an interest in the French monarchy. He certainly appears to have enhanced the prestige of members of the French royal family who participated in the crusades. For in Book 22.3 regarding Philip II he adds to the side note about Philip ascending the throne 'de cui bontez se sent toute la Crestientez'³⁹ [of whose generosity all of Christianity knows]. The translator's use of the phrase 'le gent de France' when discussing the participants of the First Crusade includes those who came from territories that came under French control at the time of Philip II, such as Normandy and Boulogne, and can be seen as an attempt to portray these lands as unified under the French monarchy.

Another member of the French royal family, Hugh *li Mainie*, count of Vermandois, brother of Philip I and a member of the First Crusade, had not received particularly warm treatment in William's text. This was primarily due to the fact that Hugh had abandoned the crusade after having taken a letter to the emperor Alexius at Constantinople. Hugh's role in the crusade was enhanced in texts such as *La Chanson d'Antioche*, and there are several places in the *Eracles* that give Hugh a prominence lacking in William's text. For instance, in Book 4.18 Bohemond of Taranto and Robert of Flanders leave Antioch in order to find supplies for the crusader army besieging the city. William stated that Raymond of Toulouse and Adhemar, the bishop of Le Puy, were left behind in order to guard the city: 'domino comite Tolosano et episcopo Podiense ad castrorum custodium derelictis'⁴⁰ [the lord count of Toulouse and the bishop of Puy were left behind to guard the city]. The translator instead relates that 'li oz fu bailliez a garder au conte de Toulouse et a Huon le maine'⁴¹ [the host was entrusted to the count of Toulouse and to Hugh *li Mainie*]. Hugh here is portrayed as being one of the commanders of the crusade. While this could be seen as a simple copying error, a similar instance occurs in Book 5.16. This chapter relates Bohemond's discussion with the other nobles of ways to defend Antioch from the approach of Kerbogha's army. William listed the major leaders present as 'dominus Boamundus...dominum ducem Godefridum et dominum Robertum Flandrensiu comitem, dominum item Robertum comitem Normannorum, dominum quoque Raimundum Tolosanum comitem'⁴² [lord Bohemond...Duke Godfrey, Robert count of Flanders, likewise Robert

39 Paris, 22.3 vol. 2 pp. 413–414.

40 WT, 4.18 lines 12–13.

41 Paris, 4.18 vol. 1 p. 145.

42 WT, 5.16 lines 16–19.

count of Normandy and also Raymond count of Toulouse]. The translator gives this list as 'Buiemonz...le duc Godefroi, le conte de Flandres, Huon le Maine, le duc de Normendie, le conte de Toulouse'⁴³ [Bohemond, Duke Godfrey, the count of Flanders, Hugh *li Maine*, the duke of Normandy and the count of Toulouse]. Another example occurs in Book 6.4, where Hugh is added to Robert of Flanders and Robert of Normandy as one of those who aided Bohemond in building a fort to protect the army within the city from an attack by the Muslims who still held the citadel.⁴⁴ The translator seems to take interest in Hugh and was attempting to highlight his role in the crusade.

In addition to adding Hugh *li Maine* to significant actions of the First Crusade, the translator commented on the valour of Hugh and his abandonment of the crusade, for which he had been highly criticised. The first of these occurs in Book 2.4, when Hugh and other nobles are released by the emperor Alexius at the request of Duke Godfrey. The Greeks had taken this group of crusaders prisoner at Durazzo, modern Durrës. William discussed the envoys sent by Godfrey to the emperor, Alexius I Komnenos, to obtain the release of Hugh and the other nobles. The translator keeps this part of William's account, however, adding a large segment.

Quant li dux Godefroiz et li autre prince orient nouveles de cele prison, il pristrent bons messages et les envoierent a toutes leur letres a l'Empereur, et li manderent, en priant et en amonestant, que il, sanz delai, leur envoiast ce haut home Huon le maine et toute sa compaignie; car il le tenoient a seigneur et a frère et a compaignon de ce pelerinage: et de ce avoit-il plus fet sa volenté et sa force que droiture, quant il, si gentil home qui rien n'avoit forfeit, avoit pris et retenu.⁴⁵

[When Duke Godfrey and the other princes heard the news of this capture, they selected good messengers and sent them with letters to the emperor. They urgently asked and exhorted him, that he would, without delay, send to them this worthy man, Hugh *li Maine* and all of his companions, because they considered him to be a lord and a brother and a companion of their pilgrimage. The emperor did this quickly because Godfrey wished it and also on account of justice, because Hugh, such a worthy man, who had not committed any crime, had been captured and imprisoned.]

43 Paris, 5.16 vol. 1 p. 176.

44 WT, 6.4 lines 33–34; Paris, 6.4 vol. 1 p. 195.

45 Paris, 2.4 vol. 1 p. 62.

The first part of this passage simply recounts the fact that Godfrey sent messengers and desired the release of Hugh and his compatriots, not adding any information to William's text. However, the translator draws the reader's attention to Hugh in the second part of the passage stressing Hugh's innocence and the fact that the emperor had wrongly imprisoned him.

The passage stresses Hugh's inclusion among those leading the crusade by having Godfrey refer to him as 'seigneur et frère et compaignon de ce pelerinage'. In Book 5.6 William praises the valour of various nobles during the fighting at Antioch. He included Hugh: 'Hugo etiam Magnus, regii memor sanguinis et a tante dignitatis culmine non recedens'⁴⁶ [Hugh *li Maine*, mindful of his royal blood, did not depart from that lofty dignity]. The translator retains the sentiments: 'Hues li maines n'avoit pas oublié de quel lignage il estoit de quel terre' [Hugh *li Maine* did not forget what the lineage was of his land] but adds 'aincois sembloit aus Tors que il fesoit sur ses anemis que toute la besoigne fust seue'⁴⁷ [it soon appeared to the Turks that he had defeated his enemies and relieved all of his comrades], reinforcing the valour of Hugh and his value to the crusade. The translator attempts to try to restore Hugh's reputation following his failure to return to the crusade after taking messages to Constantinople. William had criticised Hugh at length and included a reference to Juvenal's *Satires*.

Nam cum in expeditione multa gessisset egregie, unde sibi famam pepererat inmortalem, in ea legatione meritum denigravit, dum expleto negotio ad eos qui eum miserant nec response detulit nec curavit redire, fuitque in eo delictum hoc tanto notabilius, quanto ipse genere erat preclarior, nam iuxta verbum nostri Iuvenalis *omne animi vicium tanto conspectius in se crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur*.⁴⁸

[While many who participated in this expedition received glory, he spared himself from this immortal fame, by refusing merit in this embassy. While he undertook the business of those who sent him, he neither brought an answer nor returned. He committed such a notable crime, the more so because he was so nobly born, for according to the words of our Juvenal *the vice of the soul that has committed a crime is much more conspicuous the greater the person who sins*.]

As expected the translator dropped this classical quotation, but also reduced the criticism by replacing the entire passage with 'plus en fu blasmez que n'eust

46 WT, 5.6 lines 23–24.

47 Paris, 5.6 vol. 1 p. 162.

48 WT, 7.1 lines 17–24.

été uns moiens hom'⁴⁹ [he was blamed more than if he had been a common man]. The translator added that after leaving Constantinople, Hugh 's'en parti de l'Empereur et tout droit ala en France'⁵⁰ [he left the emperor and went straight to France].

Later in Book 10.11, referring to the return of Hugh *li Maine* during the crusade of 1101, William included another allusion to his failure to return to the First Crusade from Constantinople.

dominus quoque Hugo Magnus, Philippi regis Francorum frater, comes Viromandensium, qui primam expeditionem sequutus, capta Antiochia inopia rei familiaris tractus in patriam redierat.⁵¹

[Lord Hugh *li Maine*, brother of King Philip of France, count of Vermandois, who, following the capture of Antioch during the first expedition, returned to his homeland destitute.]

The translator here retains William's text.

Hues li Maines, freres le roi Phelipe de France, et cuens de Vermandois: il avoit esté en la premiere muete jusque Antioche fu prise; apres ala en Costantinoble en message, puis s'en retorna en son pais, car il avoit despendu son avoir et assez acreu de l'autrui.⁵²

[Hugh *li Maine*, brother of King Philip of France and count of Vermandois, had been on the first expedition until Antioch was taken. After he went to Constantinople as a messenger, then he returned into his own country because he had spent all he had and everything that he had borrowed from others.]

Perhaps the translator did not remove this part of the text because it is not overly critical of Hugh, and he was attempting to rehabilitate Hugh's reputation by altering the negative passages regarding Hugh in William's Latin. Despite his few additional references to Hugh *li Maine*, the translator did not greatly emphasise Hugh's role in the crusade and did not include any additional passages from vernacular texts such as *La Chanson d'Antioche*. While he may have shown interest in Hugh, he did not give him the extra attention that would indicate that he was working under the patronage of the French monarchy. The

49 Paris, 7.1 vol. 1 p. 226.

50 Paris, 7.1 vol. 1 p. 226.

51 WT, 10.11 (12) lines 11–14.

52 Paris, 10.11 vol. 1 p. 346.

references to Hugh seem to be more in keeping with the translator's general interest in emphasising France and French crusaders in general.

The translator also made a number of changes to William's text regarding the Second Crusade. If, as seems to be the case, the translator was working in the Île de France towards the end of the reign of Philip II, it is reasonable that he would have taken an interest in this particular expedition to the East, since Louis VII, Philip's father, conducted the Second Crusade, from 1145 to 1149, with the emperor Conrad III. While no survivors of the crusade would have been still living at the time the translation was made, it is likely that a crusading tradition associated with the French monarchy would have still been alive.

A number of additions were made concerning Louis VII and his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine, and the constant disputes that surrounded their time in the East. William never specifically named Eleanor in his text, simply referring to her as 'regine'⁵³ [the queen] when her uncle, Raymond Poitiers, the prince of Antioch, requested that Louis should assist him in attacking Muslim cities and castles around the principality of Antioch. The translator specifically names her, 'Alienors'⁵⁴ [Eleanor]. To William's statement that Louis desired to go to Jerusalem but did not have the resources to assist any campaigns until he had completed his pilgrimage, the translator adds a reference to the travails his army had encountered on their journey, 'puis qu'il estoit meuz de son pais, en avoit euz mainz destorbiers'⁵⁵ [since he had left his country he had encountered many difficulties]. He reinforced that Louis was justified in not aiding the prince of Antioch and in completing his crusading vow to go to Jerusalem instead. Eleanor, who had tried to persuade Louis to help Raymond, was heavily criticised by William.

uxorem enim eius in idipsum consentientem, que una erat de fatuis mulieribus, aut violenter aut occultis machinationibus ab eo rapere proposuit. Erat, ut premisimus, sicut et prius et postmodum manifestis edocuit indiciis, mulier inprudens et contra regiam dignitatem legem negligens maritalem, thori coniugalis fide oblita.⁵⁶

[his wife readily assented to this, for she was a foolish woman, bringing dishonour and exposing herself to being carried off by secret machinations. He was, as I have mentioned, clearly shown, both before and after

53 WT, 16.27 line 12.

54 Paris, 16.27 vol. 2 p. 133.

55 Paris, 16.27 vol. 2 p. 134.

56 WT, 16.27 lines 35–40.

this, his wife's foolishness in forgetting the conjugal faith of her bed, neglecting lawful marriage, and acting against the dignity of the crown.

The translator expands on this.

De lui corocier se pena entoutes manieres, si neis que la roine sa femme mist-il a ce, qu'ele le vout lessier et partir de lui; car ele n'estoit mie lors sage femme, aincois fu mout blasmée en la terre, ne ne regarda mie, si com l'en dit, a la hautesce de sa coronne, ne a la foi du mariage. Li Rois le li mostra bien, quant il fu retornez en France; car il se dese vra de lui.⁵⁷

[In his anger, he thought of all ways that the queen, his wife, made him look foolish so that he wished to renounce and leave her. She was not a wise wife in this affair, being much blamed in the land, she had no regard, as has been said, for the dignity of her crown, nor was she faithful to the marriage. The king showed, when he had returned to France, that he had separated himself from her.

Although the translator specifically added that the marriage of Louis and Eleanor ended after they returned to France, he has not lessened the criticism of Eleanor, as he had done with Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres.

Concerning the failed siege of Damascus during the Second Crusade, he expands on William's statement that Louis VII's forces were following those of King Baldwin III of Jerusalem when the kingdom's forces were attacked, '*Quo cognito ira succensus, per medias regis Francorum acies usque ad conflictum eorum, qui pro flumine contendebant, cum suis principibus celer pervenit*'⁵⁸ [when he (Baldwin III) heard this he was overcome with anger, he went through the middle of the lines, as far as the king of France, and came quickly with his princes to fight with them by the river], with '*Après se ralierent et empristrent l'eaue à gaignier; aus Turs assemblerent, [et fu li poigneiz aspres et fiers]; mès la nostre gent refu flatie arrières. Li rois de France qui chevauchoit après a toute sa bataille, se tint et atendoit por secorre aus premerains quant mestiers fust et il fussent lassé*'⁵⁹ [afterwards they rallied themselves and undertook to gain the stream, gathering towards the Turks, and it was a hard and fierce battle; but our men refused to flee. The king of France, who rode after him, with his entire battalion, held his position and waited for aid in the first place when he had need and they were tired]. Following this additional

57 Paris, 16.27 vol. 2 p. 134.

58 WT, 17.4 lines 25–28.

59 Paris, 17.4 vol. 2 p. 143.

emphasis on the resilience of Louis's French army, the translator adds a comment on the lack of valour of the forces that had accompanied Emperor Conrad III, stating that before fleeing the battle 'sevent pou de touz atiremenz d'armes, et sont une gent qui rien ne pueent sofrir'⁶⁰ [they knew little at all about readying arms, they are a people who are not able to endure any hardship]. This is representative of the translator's generally negative attitude towards Germans.

William was critical of those who were accused of being bribed to move the army away from the orchard towards the Eastern wall of the city of Damascus, likening them to Judas, but referred to them simply as 'principibus nostris'⁶¹ [our leaders]. This term could refer to the leaders of the Christian army, since he regularly referred to crusaders as a whole in similar terms, but it seems likely that he was referring specifically to the Eastern barons, since he stated that they persuaded the leaders of the crusading army, 'regibus et peregrinis principibus' [the king and the leaders of the pilgrims], to follow their advice.⁶² William used the phrase 'peregrini principes'⁶³ again in the following chapter, which the translator rendered as 'l'empereres de Alemaigne et li rois de France'.⁶⁴ The translator, however, was far more specific in his accusation: 'Bien est voirs que cil baron furent de la terre de Surie, mès leur nons ne leur lignages ne les terres qu'il tenoient ne nome pas l'estoire; espoir, porce qu'il i a encore vis de leur oirs qui ne le soferroient mie empais'⁶⁵ [It is clear that these barons were from the land of Syria, but neither their names, nor their lineages, nor the lands that they held were recorded in the history; possibly, because there still some of their descendants who could not endure such implication]. While no specific names are mentioned, the translator was clearly placing the blame for the failure of the Second Crusade on those who had settled in the Latin East and was accusing them of sabotaging the crusade for their own personal gain, a sentiment that had gained some momentum in the West.⁶⁶

The translator also expands on the apathy shown by those in the West following the failure of the Second Crusade by stating 'La menue gent de France disoient tout en apert aus Suriens que ne seroit pas bone chose de conquerre les citez a leur oés, car li Tur i valoient mieuz que il ne fesoient'⁶⁷ [The common

60 Paris, 17.4 vol. 2 p. 143.

61 WT, 17.5 line 24.

62 WT, 17.5 lines 28–29.

63 WT, 17.6 line 19.

64 Paris, 17.6 vol. 2 p. 146.

65 Paris, 17.5 vol. 2 p. 145.

66 J. Phillips *The Second Crusade: Expanding the Frontiers of Christendom* (New Haven, 2007), pp. 222–223.

67 Paris, 17.6 vol. 2 p. 147.

men of France all said openly to the Syrians (Latin East) that it would not be a good thing to conquer the cities for their use, for they could not take them because the Turks there were stronger]. He seems to have been eager to highlight the activity of Louis and appears aware of the general sentiment in the West, particularly in France, about the outcome of this crusade. While William also criticised the eastern barons, the translator was far more forceful in his criticism. He was also aware of a feeling that the cause of the crusade was hopeless and that many in the West no longer felt the obligation to journey to the East to try to aid the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

The translator made other additions to participants of the Second Crusade, much as he had done for those who had gone on the First Crusade. In Book 16.28 William discussed the arrival of Conrad III in Jerusalem, but devoted a large part of the chapter to the death of Alfonso-Jordan, the count of Toulouse, son of the Raymond prominent in the First Crusade. William introduced him upon his arrival at Acre as ‘*vir magnificus et illustris comes Tolosanus Amfossus nomine*’⁶⁸ [the count of Toulouse, a worthy and illustrious man named Alfonso]. The translator adds that he was ‘*du roiaume de France*’,⁶⁹ another instance stressing the prominence of those from France in the crusading movement. While William noted that Alfonso intended to continue on to Jerusalem, the translator adds that he wanted ‘*à veoir le Sepuchre et les autres sainz leus*’⁷⁰ [to see the Sepulchre and the other holy places]. This reminder of the reasons why pilgrims went to Jerusalem shows his interest in the East. However, Alfonso did not make it to Jerusalem. He journeyed down the coast from Acre to Caesarea, where he died. William noted that there were rumours that Alfonso had been poisoned: ‘*porrecto ut dicitur veneno sed auctore tanti sceleris incerto*’ [It was rumoured that he was poisoned but the culprit was unknown].⁷¹ The translator was far more certain with his accusation: ‘*Iluec [uns filz de deable], l’en ne sot qui fut ne pour quoi li fist, mès il l’enpoisona de venin que il mist en sa viande*’ [There was a son of the devil, though no-one knew who it was, but he put poison in his food].⁷² While there does not seem to be any proof that Alfonso was poisoned, the rumour of poison among the French crusaders may have been widespread.

The translator added little, in general, to the discussion of the military orders. While there are a few, mostly negative, comments on the conduct of the Templars,

68 WT, 16.28 lines 11–12.

69 Paris, 16.28 vol. 2 p. 135.

70 Paris, 16.28 vol. 2 p. 135.

71 WT, 16.28 lines 17–18.

72 Paris, 16.28 vol. 2 p. 135.

there are several alterations regarding specific Templars from France. The first occurring in Book 12.7 during the discussion of the foundation of the Order of the Temple adds that Hugh de Payns came 'delez Troies'.⁷³ This statement is correct—Payns is near Troyes—and is similar to many additional statements made about participants in the First Crusade. The second Templar to be the subject of an alteration, Geoffrey Fulcher, is of far more interest. In the Latin text of Book 19.18, King Amaury sent Geoffrey, along with Hugh Grenier, lord of Caesarea, as an envoy to the Fatimid caliph in Cairo, al-Adid, to conclude a treaty that had been agreed to with the vizier Shawar in 1167. William described Geoffrey as 'frater militie Templi'.⁷⁴ The translator states 'qui estoit mestres du Temple',⁷⁵ promoting him from a simple brother of the order to being the master. Geoffrey never held that position, although Geoffrey was identified as the 'procurator' and 'preceptor' in the 1160s and as 'commander of the Order overseas' in the 1170s; it could be that the translator was simply following the imprecision with which those titles were used.⁷⁶ While the statement that he was the 'mestres' is incorrect, there are other instances in which a local Templar commander was also referred to as 'master', which may indicate that it was a common practice for the commander within a local area to be simply called the 'master'. An example is William Cadel, who, like Geoffrey, eventually became the preceptor of the Order in 1222–23. William is referred to as 'magistro domus milicie Templi in Provincia' [master of the Temple in Provence] in various charters from 1206 to 1237.⁷⁷ With Geoffrey's role as 'commander of the Order overseas', this terminology would also have been true for him. While William referred to Geoffrey as a 'frater', he was clearly more than this and was a person of some importance, particularly so in France. Geoffrey was apparently also close to Louis VII of France, since in 1164 he wrote a letter to him in which he stated that he had carried a ring belonging to Louis to the various holy sites and said prayers for him.⁷⁸ Since he spent most of his time in the East, it would be easy to attribute such a title, especially to one with a close relationship with the monarch.

73 Paris, 12.7 vol. 1 p. 442.

74 WT, 19.18 line 7.

75 Paris, 19.17 vol. 2 p. 277.

76 H.J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar: A New History* (Stroud, 2001), p. 117; M. Barber *The New Knighthood* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 189–190; E. Rey 'Geoffrey Foucher: Grand-commandeur du Temple, 1157–70', *Revue de Champagne et de Brie* 30 (1894), pp. 259–269.

77 J. Burgdorf, *Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization, and Personnel (1099/1120–1310)* (Leiden, 2008), pp. 672–675.

78 Burgdorf, *Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars*, pp. 532–534.

The translator did not seem to have a connection with Aquitaine. William described a group of pilgrims travelling to Antioch in 1163 and identified the prominent nobles: 'Advenerant illa tempestate quidam nobiles de partibus Aquitanicis, Gaufridus videlicet qui cognominatus est Martel, domini comitis Engolismensis frater, et Hugo de Liziniaco senior qui cognominatus est Brunus'⁷⁹ [Several nobles from the region of Aquitaine arrived around this time, namely Geoffrey, who is surnamed Martel, brother of the count (William Taillefer) of Angoulême and Hugh de Lusignan the elder who was surnamed Le Brun]. The French text agreed: 'car en cele season estoient venu por pelerinage en Jherusalem dui haut home du roiaume de France, de la terre d'Aquitaine: li uns avoit non Gefroiz Marteaus, frères estoit le conte d'Anglosme; li autre claimoit-l'en Hugo de Lezignan, en surnon estoit apelez li Bruns'⁸⁰ [At this time two worthy men came on pilgrimage to Jerusalem from the Kingdom of France, from the land of Aquitaine. One was called Geoffrey Martel, brother of the count of Angoulême, the other was called Hugh de Lusignan, surnamed Le Brun]. Hugh VIII, lord of Lusignan, had departed for the Latin East in 1163 and was captured by the Muslims at the battle of Harim in 1164, eventually dying in captivity.⁸¹ This is presumably the Hugh mentioned by William, but he did not go by the cognomen of 'Brunus'. Hugh's son did go by the name 'Hugo Brunus' but had remained in Lusignan to look after his father's lands. He died in 1169 and it is unlikely that he made a journey to the East or if he ever became lord of Lusignan as the date of his father's death is unknown. He is not counted as one of the lords of Lusignan, despite using the title in a charter.⁸² It is possible that William here confused the father and son. While the name 'Brunus' was also used by Hugh IV de Lusignan and may have been a family name, it was not used by any other members of the family, including Hugh VIII and Hugh IX, the son of Hugh Brunus.⁸³ William's use of 'senior' may indicate that Hugh VIII was the person he was referring to and not Hugh Brunus. This qualifier, however, is lacking in the French, 'Hugo de Lezignan, en surnon estoit apelez li Bruns'.⁸⁴ In his edition, Huygens gave no indication that any of the Latin manuscripts lack the word 'senior', and it is not present in any of the French manuscripts that, in general, appear to preserve readings closest to the original translation. Elsewhere the translator has been careful in correctly identifying participants

79 WT, 19.8 lines 4–7.

80 Paris, 19.7 vol. 2 pp. 262–263.

81 Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, p. 191.

82 S. Painter, 'The Lords of Lusignan', *Speculum* 32 (1958), p. 41.

83 Painter, 'The Lords of Lusignan', pp. 27–47.

84 Paris 19.7 vol. 2 p. 263.

on the crusade, and it is unusual that he should create ambiguity surrounding Hugh VIII de Lusignan. The most likely explanation is that the translator was not familiar with the Poitevin nobility in general and the Lusignans in particular, despite their prominence in the Latin East, with Guy de Lusignan, a younger son of Hugh VIII and brother of Hugh Brunus, becoming king of Jerusalem in 1186.

Since several of the *Eracles* manuscripts were produced in Flanders, it is tempting to assume that the popularity of the text in that region may indicate a connection between Flanders and the translator of William of Tyre, despite the fact that all these manuscripts have been dated to the fifteenth century.⁸⁵ Pryor has pointed out that there is some evidence for this theory, arguing that the translator elevated Robert of Flanders to be on a par with Bohemond of Taranto and omitted some criticism of Philip of Alsace, count of Flanders, yet maintaining William's general negative view of Philip.⁸⁶ The omission of criticism regards the count of Flanders's failure to take up the regency of the kingdom and the failed siege of Harim.

Admirari non sufficimus—esse enim videtur amplius opinione hominum—quod tantis principibus tantam induxit dominus mentis caliginem et ita in indignatione sua cecitate eos percussit, quod nemine compellente castrum iam pene expugnatum, sola stimulante invidia et negligentia revocante, hostibus dimitterent.⁸⁷

[We can but wonder—it certainly seems to be greater than men can believe—that the Lord should lead such princes into darkness and strike them down with blindness in his indignation; for those that were besieging the castle now flee, having disbanded the host solely for jealousy and negligence.]

William had included a similar criticism of Philip, as well as of Bohemond III of Antioch and Raymond of Tripoli, at the end of the previous chapter, where he depicted them as hubristic following the defeat of Saladin at the battle of Montgisart in 1177.

et qui solet in prosperis irrepere fastus, etsi non verbo, saltem cogitatione non vererentur dicere: *manus nostra excelsa, et non dominus fecit haec*

85 Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 94–95.

86 Pryor, pp. 278–279; 'In nullo relinquens post se in benedictione memoriam' WT, 21.24 (25) lines 42–43; and 'Ne leissa gueres bone remembrance de ses fez en la terre d'outre mer'. Paris, 21.23 vol. 2. p. 399.

87 WT, 21.24 (25) lines 29–34.

omnia. At nunc iuxta verbum suum, quod scriptum est: *ego gloriam meam alteri non dabo* reservata sibi penitus auctoritate et gloria, non in multitudine, sed paucorum usus ministerio et Gedeonis innovans clementer miracula, innumeram stravit multitudinem, significans quod ipse sit, et non alius, cujus beneficio unus persequitur mille, et duo fugant decem millia. Ei ergo ascribatur, a quo est omne datum optimum, et omne donum perfectum, quia non est in hoc praesenti articulo, quod operibus suis imputare possit homo. Divinae enim gratiae munus est et non meritis exhibitum: tuum est opus, Domine, extendisti enim manum tuam, et devoravit eos terra; in multitudine gloriae tuae deposuisti omnes adversarios meos.⁸⁸

[and he who was accustomed to pride only in prosperity, even if not by word, but were not afraid to think if not say: *my hand is raised, and the Lord has not done all of this*. But now, according to His word, that is written: *I will not give glory to another* He has retained authority and glory to himself, while employing the aid of the few, not the multitude. In his loving kindness he renewed the miracles of Gideon, scattered the innumeral multitude, so that the one who benefits will overcome a thousand and two will drive away ten thousand. Therefore, ascribe to Him who is the best gift of all and every perfect gift for it is not found in this present instance that a man is able to create His works. Therefore, divine grace is not exhibited in worldly merits, it is your work, O Lord, extend your hand and envelop that land; You put down all of my enemies to Your greater glory.

While biblical quotations and references were removed by the translator, the criticism of Philip and the other leaders is maintained: 'qui estoient avec eus eussent esté a ceste besoigne l'en poist cuidier que force d'omes et chevalerie eussent gaaigniee ceste victoire; mes Nostre Sires vout cele chose acomplir par un petit de gent por mostrer que devant touz en doit-il avoir les grez et les graces'⁸⁹ [those who had been with them in this undertaking had desired that the strength of men and knighthood would win this victory, but Our Lord wanted to accomplish this task through a small number of men in order to show that, above all else, he ought to have their gratitude and thanks]. Along with a lack of linguistic characteristics, this consideration indicates that the translator does not seem to have any connection with Flanders and was not showing favouritism to the count of Flanders.

88 WT, 21.23 (24) lines 42–56.

89 Paris, 21.22 vol. 2 p. 398.

This is not to say that he did not take interest in Philip. In Book 14.1 William noted that Philip had taken over control of the county of Flanders: 'qui hodie Flandrensiū procurat comitatū'⁹⁰ [who governs the county of Flanders to this day]. Philip later joined the Third Crusade but died at the siege of Acre on 1 June 1191.⁹¹ The translation replaces William's statement with 'qui mout tint bien et vigueresement la conté de Flandres'⁹² [who governed well and vigorously the county of Flanders]. The translator was aware of the circumstances of the count's death, adding 'puis fu morz outré mer, quant li rois Phelippes i ala'⁹³ [then he died beyond the sea, when King Philip went over there]. This, however, does not indicate a link with the county of Flanders, as the death of such a well-known noble would have been general knowledge, especially so because he had died on the Third Crusade.

A further instance in which the translator lessens the criticism of Philip of Alsace occurs during the description of his departure from the East in 1178. William criticised Philip's impact in the kingdom in refusing the offer of regency as the cousin of Baldwin IV, with: 'in nullo relinquens post se in benedictione memoriam'⁹⁴ [leaving nothing behind him that could be well spoken of]. The translator replaces this with 'Ne leissa guères bone remembrance de ses fez en la terre d'outre mer'⁹⁵ [he did not take back the reward of being well remembered for his deeds in the land over the sea]. While the translator did not remove the criticism, the statement that Philip's deeds were well remembered replaces William's statement that he was not remembered in the Latin East. The praise given to Philip, even alongside the omission of William's criticism, is not enough to indicate a close relationship, though it may reflect a continued importance of Philip's family at the time of the translation.⁹⁶

Another person for whom the translator reduced William's criticism is Renaud de Châtillon. Renaud came from northern France and in 1153 married Constance, the cousin of Baldwin III and princess of Antioch who had recently become widowed on the death of her husband Raymond de Poitiers. Renaud appears to have remained in the East after his arrival, presumably with the Second Crusade in 1147, until his death following the Battle of Hattin in 1187.

90 WT, 14.1 lines 76–77.

91 'Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi', *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. W. Stubbs, 1, Rolls Series 38 (London, 1864), p. 217.

92 Paris, 14.1 vol. 2 p. 3.

93 Paris, 14.1 vol. 2 pp. 3–4.

94 WT, 21.24 (25) lines 42–43.

95 Paris, 21.23 vol. 2 p. 399.

96 Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 98.

Through his marriage to Constance he was the prince of Antioch until her death in 1163 while Renaud was in a Muslim prison and her son Bohemond III came of age. Following his release from prison in 1176, Renaud married Stephanie de Milly, widow of both Humphrey III of Toron and Miles de Plancy, through whom he acquired the lordship of Oultrejourdain.⁹⁷ William's general view of Renaud was that of a self-serving prince whose influence was disastrous to the Christian cause. This view is particularly well known due to the value placed on William of Tyre's text and the stories about Renaud in the *Old French Continuation*. There is some evidence, however, that contemporaries did not hold him in such low esteem and that William's portrayal of him was coloured by political rivalry.⁹⁸

William commented that, upon Renaud's marriage to Constance, the nobility were astounded that Constance, who had previously refused to remarry, had married someone who was a mercenary in the pay of the king and not a great baron.

Dumque hec circa Ascalonam in castris geruntur, domina Constantia, domini Raimundi Antiocheni principis vidua, licet multos inclitos et nobiles viros, eius matrimonium appetentes, more femineo repulisset, Rainaldum de Castellione, quendam stipendiarium militem, sibi occulte in maritum elegit; noluit autem verbum publicari quoadusque domini regis, cuius erat consobrina et sub cuius protectione principatus videbatur consistere, interveniret auctoritas et consensus...non sine multorum admiratione quod tam preclara, potens et illustris femina et tam excellentis uxor viri militi quasi gregario nubere dignaretur.⁹⁹

[While this was occurring around Ascalon, the lady Constance, widow of Lord Raymond, prince of Antioch, although she had driven away, as is the way of women, many famous and noble men seeking to marry her, chose as husband in secret, Renaud de Châtillon, a certain mercenary knight, for she was unwilling for word to be made public until the authority and consent of the lord king, whose cousin she was and under whose protection was principality of Antioch, might occur...not without amazement on the part of many that so powerful and illustrious lady and wife of so excellent a man should deign to marry, as it were, a common soldier.¹⁰⁰]

97 B. Hamilton, 'The Elephant of Christ: Reynald of Châtillon', *Studies in Church History* 15 (London, 1978), pp. 97–98.

98 Hamilton, 'Elephant', pp. 101, 107–108.

99 WT, 17.26 lines 1–13.

100 I am grateful to Susan Edgington for the following Latin translations relating to Renaud de Châtillon.

This is replaced in the French with:

Si com les choses aloient einsi entor le siege d'Escalone, madame Constance, la princesse d'Antioche, qui mainz hauz barons de grant afere avoit refusez, s'accorda en son cuer à un bachelier de France qui n'estoit pas mout riches hom; [mès sages estoit cortois et de bon afere; biaux bacheliers et chevaliers bons], Renauz de Chasteillon estoit apelez. Mès ele ne vout mie fere le mariage jusqu'ele en eust le congié et la volenté le Roi, qui estoit ses cousins germains et qui avoit en sa garde la princé d'Antioche en que cil Renauz demoroit soudoiers, par le comandement le Roi... Maintes gent s'en merveillierent et granz paroles en firent au païs; mès toutes voies fu Renauz de Chasteillon princes d'Antioche.¹⁰¹

[While these things were happening during the siege of Antioch, the lady Constance, the princess of Antioch, who had refused to marry many noble barons of great worth, gave her heart to a young knight of France; he was not a lord but he was wise, noble, and of good worth, a handsome young man and a good knight; he was called Renaud de Châtillon. But she did not wish to conclude the marriage until she had the leave and consent of the king, who was her close relation and who had in his control the principality of Antioch where Renaud remained as a mercenary, by the command of the king...Many people marvelled at this and gossip was rife throughout the country, nevertheless Renaud de Châtillon was prince of Antioch.¹⁰²]

The translator dropped the accusation that Constance was motivated by 'more femineo', and although he does retain the general gossip which surrounded the marriage, he omits William's statement that many felt Renaud to have been below her station, 'potens et illustris femina et tam excellentis uxor viri militi quasi gregario nubere dignaretur'. The translation also lacks the suggestive word 'occulte' [secret] when detailing the circumstances of the marriage. Rather than adding negative comments about Renaud or maintaining William's view of him, the translator adds praise to Renaud by adding that he was 'un bachelier de France qui n'estoit pas mout riches hom; mes sages estoit, cortois et de bon afere; biaux bacheliers et chevaliers bons' [a young man France who was not very rich, but he was wise chivalrous and well equipped, a good bachelor and a good knight]. The translator is not excessive with his praise; these types of comments

101 Paris, 17.26 vol. 2 pp. 179–180.

102 I am grateful to Carol Sweetenham for the following Old French translations relating to Renaud de Châtillon.

were ascribed to other French crusaders and are used by William for those whom he praised, and this type of comment is completely lacking about Renaud in William's text. In Book 17.21 the first mention of Renaud is made during Baldwin III's siege of Ascalon, where he is noted, along with Walter de St Omer, as being in the pay of the king: 'Rainaldus de Castellione, Galterus de Sancto Aldemaro, qui duo stipendia apud dominum regem merebant'¹⁰³ [Renaud de Châtillon and Walter de Saint-Omer who served as two mercenaries of the lord king]. The translator kept this description of them but adds that they were 'dui haut home du roiaume de France'¹⁰⁴ [two worthy men of the Kingdom of France]. It is clear that the translator had an interest in Renaud and has repeatedly lessened some of the criticism found in William's text.

The major episode for which Renuad was criticised by William was his attack on Byzantine Cyprus in 1156. The reason for this centres on the Armenian named Toros of Cilicia, who had formerly been allied with the Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos but had broken the alliance and sought refuge in Cilicia, where he was able to conduct raids on Byzantine territory. The emperor, unable to remove Toros from Cilicia, asked Renaud to attack Toros's fortresses in return for payment. Renaud drove Toros from the region. However, he did not receive his payment soon enough. At this point William noted: 'Expectans ergo honestam pro tanto facto retributionem, videbatur ei differri plurimum: unde more inpatiens ad predictum maleficium convolvavit'¹⁰⁵ [Renaud therefore expected an honest reward for such a deed, but it seemed very delayed to him: being impatient by nature he brought about the aforesaid atrocity]. While William acknowledged that Renaud had performed a service for the emperor, he criticised Renaud's impatience and blamed him for an unprovoked attack on Cyprus. The translation has a slightly different reading.

Après envoia a l'Empereur et li manda la verité. Grand guerredon en atendoit; mais cil, quant sa besoigne fu fete, ne li envoia rien. Li Princes qui fu endetez vout prendre de l'Empereur; por ce, s'en entra par force en Chipre qui estoit seue.¹⁰⁶

[Afterwards he sent word to the emperor explaining the course of events. He had expected a great reward, but, since the emperor had already got what he wanted, he sent nothing. The prince, who was deep

103 WT, 17.21 lines 43–44.

104 Paris, 17.21 vol. 2 p. 173.

105 WT, 18.10 lines 23–25.

106 Paris, 18.10 vol. 2 p. 209.

in debt, decided to take something by force from the emperor. Accordingly, he invaded Cyprus, which was the emperor's.]

There are several points here on which the translator diverges from William's Latin. In particular he shifts the emphasis by not mentioning Renaud's impatience, and instead, focuses on the costly endeavour that Renaud had performed for the emperor and highlights the fact that Renaud had not been repaid for his expenses. The translator also adds the phrase '*li Princes qui estoit preuz et chevalereus vout bien servir l'empereur*'¹⁰⁷ [the prince was worthy and chivalrous and desired to serve the emperor], which is lacking in William's text but is consistent in the translator's treatment of Renaud elsewhere.

William delineated all the atrocities that Renaud committed in Cyprus:

*monasteria tam virorum quam feminarum impudenter confregit, expositis ludibrio sanctimonialibus et virginibus tenellis. Nam auri et argenti et vestium preciosarum non erat numerus neque finis, sed amittenti hec populo comparatione lese pudicitie quasi stercora reputabantur. Sic ergo per dies aliquot per totam debacantes regionem dum non esset qui resisteret, etati non parcent vel sexui, conditionum quoque nullam habentes differentiam.*¹⁰⁸

[Therefore, having free range throughout the whole island, [he] destroyed cities, overthrew towns, insolently sacked the monasteries of both men and of women, exposing the nuns and young maidens to mockery. For there was no end to the quantity of gold and silver and precious garments, but these things were thought by the people losing them to be as excrement by comparison with their damaged modesty. Therefore for several days they ravaged the entire region while no-one was able to resist. They did not spare anyone for age or sex, considering them to have no difference of situation.]

This statement is particularly damning to Renaud due to the specific accusations regarding the pillaging of churches and the treatment of nuns and women. The translator, in contrast, greatly reduced this.

Lors corurent ses genz tout à delivre parmi la terre, chastiaus pristrent et pecoierent citez et villes; or et argent gaaignerent et dras se soie à trop

¹⁰⁷ Paris, 18.10 vol. 2 p. 209.

¹⁰⁸ WT, 18.10 lines 32–39.

grant plenté. Bien puet estre que mainz outrages fist-l'en aus puceles et aus femmes mariées, car l'en ne puet mie tout garder ne garantir en tele aventure.¹⁰⁹

[Then his men rampaged unhindered through the land, taking castles and sacking cities and towns. They acquired a very large quantity of gold, silver, and silk cloth. It may well be the case that they committed many crimes against maidens and married women, because it is quite difficult not to in such circumstances].

The translator did not pointedly praise Renaud. He admitted that Renuad and his men had committed outrages but reduced the passage and removed all mention of him sacking monasteries. He retained William's criticism of Renaud's treatment of Aimery of Limoges, the patriarch of Antioch, in 1156, when he covered the patriarch's head in honey and exposed him to the heat of the day and the merciless attention of flies.¹¹⁰ It is clear that the translator is showing favourable interest in Renaud.

This type of favourable interest was seen with Hugh *li Maine* regarding his failure to return to the First Crusade after taking a message from the crusaders at Antioch to the emperor of Constantinople. It is also reminiscent of the treatment of Guy de Lusignan highlighted by Hamilton.¹¹¹ The translator accused Guy of 'parla folement'¹¹² [speaking foolishly] upon hearing that Raymond III of Tripoli would be the regent for the young Baldwin V. William attributed Baldwin IV's decision to Guy's hesitancy to aid Kerak during the marriage of Isabella of Jerusalem, daughter of king Amaury, and Humphrey IV of Toron in November 1183, seeing it as proof that Guy was inadequate for the role of regent.

Rex vero interea, videns quod in supradicto negocio apud fontem Tubaniacum comes loppensis, cui...regni commiserate administrationem, minus strenue minusque prudenter se gesserat quodque eius imprudentia et omnimodia insufficientia regni status pene lapsus fuerat, saniore usus consilio revocat ad se suam, quam illi commiserate, administrationem.¹¹³

[Meanwhile the king, seeing the previously mentioned neglect of the count of Jaffa, by lingering by the fountain of Tubania (the king) considered him to have not acted vigorously enough nor wisely enough when

109 Paris, 18.10 vol. 2 p. 209.

110 WT, 18.1 lines 1–18; Paris, vol. 2 p. 191.

111 Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 108.

112 Paris, 22.28 vol. 2 p. 463.

113 WT, 30(29) lines 1–6.

governing the kingdom, since, on account of his (Guy's) inexperience and inadequacy, the kingdom had nearly been lost, the king recalled to good sense, took back the governance of the kingdom.]

The translator recognises that Guy had been hesitant but stresses the role of courtiers in persuading the king not to give the regency to Guy.

Oï avez coment noz genz ne firent riens encontre les Turs tandis com il sejoirnoient à la fontaine de Tubanie: touz li blasme en fu mis sur le conte de Japhe. La novele en vint au roi que cil sur qui il avoit mis le fet et le loement de l'ost s'estoit si mauvesement contenuz. Bien s'aperceurent que cil n'estoit ni sages ni si viguerous que si grant chose fu bien assise en lui; por ce se repenti: si rapel et despeça quanqu'il il avoit fet.¹¹⁴

[You shall hear how our men did nothing against the Turks, while they lingered at the fountain of Tubanie; all of the blame was put on the count of Jaffa. The news came to the king about the man he had put in charge of his affairs and the conduct of the army that he was of a treacherous disposition. He perceived that he was neither wise nor vigorous in the important affairs that he had entrusted him with. Because of this he repented and revoked what he had previously done.]

While in the Latin version the king himself perceived Guy's unsuitability as regent, the French text, as Hamilton pointed out, relates that it was the advice of other courtiers that formed Baldwin's opinion of Guy. In the cases of both Guy and Renaud, the translator retained a certain amount of William's criticism of these crusaders from France but altered the tone to become less damning.

Another manner in which William criticised Renaud de Châtillon, as noted by Pryor, was the 'weapon of silence'.¹¹⁵ A particular example occurs in regards to the battle of Montgisart in 1177. In this battle a small force from the Kingdom of Jerusalem was able to defeat the army of Saladin. William mentioned that Renaud was present but portrayed Baldwin IV as the commander of the army. However, according to Baha' al-Din, Renaud was in command of the army.¹¹⁶ This Muslim writer would have had little reason to enhance Renaud's position and place him above the king. It seems likely that Renaud did, in fact, play a

¹¹⁴ Paris, 22.28 vol. 2 p. 463.

¹¹⁵ Pryor, p. 279.

¹¹⁶ Baha' al-Din Ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot, 2002), p. 54; cf. Hamilton, 'Elephant', p. 100 n. 24.

leading role in defending the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Following his death at the battle of Hattin in 1187, Renaud was viewed as a martyr in areas of the West, in stark contrast to the negative portrayal of him given earlier by William.¹¹⁷ The translator consistently provides a more positive view of Renaud, though does not seem to have any direct connection with Renaud or the Gâtinais region. He has simply continued his overall trend of praising French participants in the crusades.

Though the translator does not appear to have included extracts from any known work or acknowledge having used another source, he has added praise to, and expanded the role of, French crusaders who were also praised in works composed in France during the same period. This includes the treatment of Renaud de Châtillon in the writings of Peter of Blois and additional material relating to Baldwin Chauderon, Baldwin de Ghent, and Guy de Possesse in *La Chanson d'Antioche*. The translator, at least, seems to have been working in a cultural milieu in which these individuals figured prominently in the *chanson de geste* and were remembered as heroes of the crusade. The translator was, therefore, clearly working within French literary traditions. His constant interest in, and knowledge of, affairs in France and the French monarchy show that one of his aims in translating William's *Historia* was to relate the tale of the *gent de France* in the Latin East.

¹¹⁷ M. Markowski, 'Peter of Blois and the Conception of the Third Crusade', *The Horns of Hattin*, ed. B.Z. Kedar (Jerusalem, 1992), pp. 263–265.

Italy and Greece

The translator added at several points in the text additional information regarding cities in Italy and background material on Constantinople. Although they are few, these additions are of interest because they were removed from the generally Franco-centric viewpoint. They may indicate that the translator understood the geography of these areas and may have travelled in them, perhaps even having gone to the East. However, whereas additions relating to France are specific and do not appear in other sources, references to Italy and Greece refer generally to well-known locations the translator could have indirectly acquired.

In Book 2.4 William described the people of the fertile regions surrounding the Byzantine Empire attacking Greek territory, such as Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly. He recounted the incursions.

Conciere est ex his locis, que aliquando uberiores et omnimodis commoditatibus referte fuerent provincie, quanta sit Grecorum miseria et eorum debilitas imperii. Nam postquam, deficientibus apud constantinopolim Latinis principibus, in eorum Potestatem sub primo Nichefero, peccatis exigentibus, descendit imperium, statim barbare nationes, de Grecorum inbecillitate confise, in eorum provincias irruentes pro arbitrio suo regionis ceperunt tractare habitatores. Inter quas Bulgarorum gens inculta, a tractu septentrionali egressa, a Danubio usque ad urbem regiam et iterum ab eodem flumine ad Mare Adriaticum, universas occupaverat regiones.¹

[This place, a province that was often plentiful and produced all types of commodities, caused great misery for the Greeks and weakened their rule. For afterwards, when the Latin princes failed in Constantinople, the Greeks, because of their sin, came under the control of Nikephorus (III), who came to the throne. At once, the barbarous nations, encouraged by weakness of the Greeks, spread throughout their lands at will setting themselves up in these regions. Among these were the uncouth Bulgars, coming from northern lands they occupied all of the regions from the Danube to the royal city and from the same river to the Adriatic Sea.]

1 WT, 2.4 lines 1–11.

In this passage William referred only to the Bulgars from the 'barbarous nations'. In the French, the translator has added to this.

Ici puet l'en conoistre la lascheté et la mauvestié de la gent de Grece. Car puis que li empereur latin faillirent en Costantinoble et li empires vint aus Greus dont fu li premiers empereres Nicefores, [tantost li Barbarin qui estoient entour eus, li Blac, li Coman,] cil de Bougrie [qui leur sont devers bise,] seurpristrent ces terres qui estoient merveilles plentéives et delitables, si que tout conquistrent, des la Dunoe jusque pres de Constantinoble; et de l'autre part, jusqu'a la mer Adriane.²

[Now one ought to know the negligence and the cowardice of the people of Greece. Because when the Latin emperors failed in Constantinople and the empire came to the Greeks, their first emperor was Nikephorus. Immediately the barbarians who lived nearby, the Vlachs, the Cumans, and those from Bulgaria, who came from the north, overran these lands which were wonderfully abundant and charming, so that they conquered everything. They spread from the Danube to Constantinople and in the other direction to the Adriatic Sea.]

Reference to Vlachs and Cumans is not found in the Latin text. In addition, 'les Blas' is added later in the chapter.³ The Cumans were a nomadic people originally from the Asian steppes, while the term 'Vlachs' refers to a group of Latinized people from the Balkans, including Thracians and Dacians. Both these groups sided with the Bulgars in a rebellion against Byzantine rule in 1186, which resulted in the establishment of the Second Bulgarian Empire.⁴ It is unlikely, however, that the addition of the names of these two groups reflects a knowledge of that war; it is more plausible that the references indicate that the translation was made after the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the establishment of the Latin Empire in Constantinople, when these groups again feature prominently as opponents.

In this same chapter the translator adds background to the Adriatic Sea.

Il a une cité en Lombardie, pres de la terre le marquis de Est, qui a non Adre, et est assez petite cité, mais por ce qu'ele est pres de la mer de

2 Paris, 2.4 vol. 1 p. 60.

3 Paris, 2.4 vol. 1 p. 61.

4 W. Miller, 'The Balkan States: 1. The Zenith of Bulgaria and Serbia (1186–1355)', *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4: *The Eastern Roman Empire 717–1453*, ed. J.R. Tanner, C.W. Previté-Orton, and Z.N. Brooke (Cambridge, 1923), p. 518–519.

Venise et de Ancone, a non cele mers Adriane en escripture. Icele mers si va assez pres de Constantinoble, a trente milles.⁵

[There is a city in Lombardy, near to the land of the Marquis d'Este, which is called Adria. It is a rather small city, but because it is near to the Sea of Venice and to Ancona this sea is called the Adriatic in scripture. This sea stretched towards Constantinople for thirty miles.]

This passage is one of the few instances in which the translator has added background to the names of cities. Although the translator appears to have mistakenly merged the Adriatic and the Bosphorus to bring Constantinople within 30 miles of the Adriatic, the entry may reflect that the translation was made after the formation of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. If the translator had travelled through the area he would have boarded a ship in Italy, so that the problems with the geography mean that he obtained his information at second hand. However, reference to a sequence of ports along the eastern coast of Italy, along with a sequence of references in France leading south along the Rhône,⁶ make it seem possible that the translator was adding details of information that he had learned on his travels and that he may have travelled through Italy. The lack of reference to any Western city, Rome in particular, would indicate that the translator, if he embarked on a pilgrimage, likely travelled down the eastern coast. He may have passed Adria⁷ and then possibly continued down the coast to Bari, where he may have boarded a ship heading for the Latin East. A final addition relating to Italy occurs in Book 2.16. Robert, the count of Flanders, took ship at Bari in order to sail for Durazzo. The translator adds that Bari was 'ou li cors monseigneur Saint Nicolas gist'⁸ [where the body of St Nicholas lies]. The body of St Nicholas was translated from Myra to Italy in 1087 and became a popular place of pilgrimage.⁹ Though, again, the translator's inclusion may simply reflect the renown of the pilgrimage site rather than that he had travelled there, although it is possible that he visited Bari en route to the East.

During the description of Constantinople in Book 2.7, the translator alters William's description of the geography. The Latin reads:

Mare Ponticum, quod ab adiacente regione nomen accepit, predicte civitati a parte septentrionali positum est, ab eadem triginta distans

5 Paris, 2.4 vol. 1 pp. 60–61.

6 Paris, 15.15 vol. 2 p. 69; 18.2 vol. 2 p. 193; 19.23 vol. 2 p. 289.

7 Paris, 2.4 vol. 1 p. 60.

8 Paris, 2.16 vol. 1 p. 76.

9 'Nicholas', *ODS*, p. 385.

miliaribus. A quo in modum fluminis per quasdam angustias in austrum descendit quedam eius portio, que, spacio ducentorum triginta miliarium decurrens in directum, inter Sexton et Abidon urbes antiquissimas, quarum altera in Europa est, altera in Asia, in nostrum Mare labitur Mediterraneum.¹⁰

[The Black Sea, which takes its name from the adjacent region, is also thirty miles distant to the north from the aforesaid region. From this, a portion flows in the form of a river two hundred and thirty miles, descending through straits in the south, towards the Mediterranean Sea. It passes between the ancient cities of Sestos and Abydos, one of which is in Europe and the other in Asia, emptying into our Mediterranean Sea.]

The French reads:

La mer qui est en Venise vient pres de Costantinoble a .xxx. milles; d'iluec s'en part un braz ausi come une eaue douce, et s'estent vers midi en lonc .cc. et .xxx. miles; et il n'est mie oniz, car en tel leu i a qu'il n'a de lé que une mille, en autre leu en a bien .xxx. de lez, ou plus, selonc ce que il treuve les leus par ou il cort plus estroit ou plus large. Il cort entre des deux anciennes citéz Sexton et Abidon, de quoi l'une est en Aise et l'autre est en Europe; car cil braz est la devise de ces deus terres. Costantinoble est en Europe, de l'autre part est Nique qui est Aise.¹¹

[The sea, which is in Venice, goes towards Constantinople for thirty miles, from there a part, that is calm water, branches off towards the north for a distance of two hundred and thirty miles, and it is rather flat. For in such a place that is not broad, being one mile in one place and in another place a good thirty or more from the other side. Accordingly, one finds places where it flows larger and larger. It flows between two ancient cities named Sestos and Abydos, of which one is in Asia and the other is in Europe, this straight divides these two lands. Constantinople is in Europe and on the other side Nicaea is in Asia.]

The translator seems to have shifted focus away from the Black Sea and instead on what he termed 'la mer qui est en Venise' which included the Adriatic, Aegean, and Bosphorus as a sea that is distinct from what he calls the 'mer d'Acre' [the Sea of Acre], which comprised the Eastern part of the Mediterranean.

¹⁰ WT, 2.7 lines 1–8.

¹¹ Paris, 2.7 vol. 1 p. 64–65.

This may indicate a post-1204 date for the translation.¹² It seems more likely, however, that this is an erroneous reading in which 'Mare Ponticum' has been replaced with 'Mare Veneticum'.

A final addition regarding this area occurs in Book 16.19, which discusses the journey of the participants of the Second Crusade over the Danube towards Constantinople. Among a list of the various places that the crusaders pass, William noted that they passed through the province of Pannonia prior to arriving in Bulgaria. The translator not only includes the classical name of the province but also adds 'ou messire sainz Martins fu nez'¹³ [where St Martin was born]. This addition shows an interest in a saint who was particularly popular in France; he had been bishop of Tours and his tomb was a popular site of pilgrimage.¹⁴ This addition does not indicate particular interest in Pannonia, or the Balkans in general. Instead it is another instance that seems to indicate that the translator was working in France, generally supportive of the French monarchy. The translator does not appear to have had extensive knowledge of either Italy or Greece, but these few references could have come from personal knowledge acquired while travelling on a pilgrimage to the East.

12 Paris, 2.7 vol. 1 p. 65; 11.14 vol. 1 p. 402.

13 Paris, 16.19 vol. 2 p. 119.

14 'Martin of Tours', *ods*, p. 350–352.

The Translator

An aim of this study has been to identify within the *Eracles* information that can shed light on the identity of the translator. The general consensus shared by nineteenth-century editors was that the translation of William of Tyre was the work of Bernard, the treasurer of the Abbey of Corbie, who was believed also to have produced some of the continuations of the text up to 1190.¹ This has now been discounted and it is clear that the translation of William of Tyre was created independent of the continuations.² While the translator was most likely a cleric, he left few indications of himself in the text.

The passage used in the past to identify the translator occurs in Book 20.11. This chapter relates that, after gaining power in Egypt, King Amaury sent messengers to the West to request aid. One of these messengers, John, bishop of Banyas, died in Paris shortly after his arrival: ‘nam predictus episcopus postquam in Franciam pervenit, statim apud Parisius ultimum clausit diem’³ [shortly he arrived in France the aforesaid bishop immediately died in Paris]. The *RHC* edition reads ‘Jehan l’evesque de Belinas et Huitace li deans de Charmentré morurent a Paris’⁴ [John, the bishop of Banyas, and Huitace, the dean of Charmentré, died in Paris]. It is the addition of this Huitace that has caused so much commentary by historians. Ost and Pryor identified this figure as being associated with the translator due to the fact that elsewhere he is the subject of another addition to the text.⁵ However, Huitace does not appear in the Paris edition for this chapter, though Paris does note that the *RHC* edition included this reading.⁶ Pryor noted this and commented that ‘it would appear that the scribes of the MSS used by Paulin Paris had dropped the mention of this dean of Charmentré from E.20.12 because they realized that he was reported as still alive in 1180–81.’⁷ This reference to Huitace only occurs in a single manuscript, F45, which contains a number of other unique variants. It

1 Paris, vol. 1, pp ix–x; *RHC Occ.* 1 p. xxii.

2 P. Edbury, ‘The Old French Continuations of William of Tyre’, *Crusades* 9 (2010), p. 108.

3 WT, 20.12 lines 35–37.

4 *RHC*, 20.12 p. 961.

5 Ost, p. 14; p. 280.

6 Paris, 20.11 vol. 2 p. 327, n. 3.

7 Pryor, p.281.

can be stated with a considerable degree of certainty that these additions were not made by the translator but by a later copyist. Despite Pryor's comment that the scribes omitted Huitace's name from this chapter as well as later on in the text, Huitace does not appear in either location in the two texts that Paris said that he used, F31 and F52, nor does he appear in F58, the only other manuscript that Paris mentioned as having a variant reading.⁸ Pryor also stated that 'the important point is that various MSS add his name to the chronicle on two different occasions and some of them give precise details of his burial place'. In this statement Pryor was relying on Ost's work and did concede that more work needed to be done on the manuscript tradition. What these references to Huitace do indicate is that the *RHC* editors used F45 to an appreciable extent. These references to Huitace led Ost to conclude that Huitace was either a friend or a superior of the translator: 'Ich glaube, dass dieser Huitace, dessen Name, wie aus der zweimaligen unvermittelten Einfügung hervorzugehen scheint, unserm Übersetzer sehr gelaufig gewesen sein muss, sein vorgesetzter oder freund gewesen ist, dem er durch erwahung in diesem Werke eine Ehre erweisen wollte'⁹ [I believe that this Huitace, whose name appears twice in the translation, was either a superior or a friend of our translator and he wanted to properly honour him in this work]. This statement cannot be supported. It is likely that the scribe of this particular manuscript, or its antecedent, had some knowledge of this Huitace and added his name as a mark of respect. It is uncertain how far this information can be shown to be accurate, as the Augustinian abbey of St Victor in Paris—and with it the tomb—no longer exists, and no other historical references to this Huitace have been found.

While the addition of Huitace is found only in the single manuscript F45, the addition of the burial place of John, the bishop of Banyas, is found in nearly all of the manuscripts. While William simply reported that John died in Paris,¹⁰ the French text adds that 'enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l'en entre vers le cuer'¹¹ [he was buried in the church of St Victor, to the left just as you enter the choir]. Although the translator had not added the reference to Huitace, it appears that he was familiar with the Abbey of St Victor in Paris and was able to provide additional detail that specified the location of the bishop of Banyas's grave inside the abbey, which might indicate that the translator can be connected with Paris or the Île de France in general.

8 Paris, 1.27 vol. 1 p. 49, n.2; 3.19 vol. 1 p. 111, n. 3.

9 Ost, p. 14.

10 WT, 20.12 lines 35–37.

11 Paris, 20.11 vol. 2 p. 327.

Another addition to the manuscripts presumably tied to the translator relates to Pope Adrian IV and the Augustinian abbey of St Ruf outside Avignon. William had provided a general background to Adrian upon his election as pope, relating ‘hic Anglicus natione, de castello Sancti Albani, apud Avinionem civitatem Provincie in Arelatensi diocesi abbas fuit canonicorum regularium in ecclesia Sancti Rufi’¹² [this man, of the English nation, from the town of St Albans, was abbot of the Regular Canons in the church of St Ruf, outside the Provençal city of Avignon in the diocese of Arles]. The translator provides a bit of additional detail that Adrian ‘vint a ecole en la cite d’Avignon’¹³ [he went to school in the city of Avignon] prior to becoming abbot. In addition, following Adrian’s election the translator adds

ne demora gueres, por ce qu’il cognoissoit bien la malice et la mescréandise de ceus d’Avignon, le siege de l’abaie don’t il avoit esté abés osta d’iluec, et la mist dehors la cite de Valence. Lors fist du suen mout bele eglise qui encor i est, et mout riches edifices. Du leu ou l’abaie fu fist prioré, et establi que la novelle abaie qui est pres de Valence obéiroit a l’evesque d’Avignon.¹⁴

[Not long afterwards, because he understood the malice and wickedness of the people of Avignon, he moved the seat of the abbey where he had been abbot from there and placed it near the city of Valence. Then he built a very beautiful church, which it still is, and a very ornate building. In the place where the abbey had been he put a priory, and established that the new abbey, which is near to Valence, should obey the bishop of Avignon.]

This rather long addition is interesting for a number of reasons. It appears to confirm the general tension between the canons of St Ruf and those of the cathedral of Avignon regarding the independence of the abbey known from other sources,¹⁵ and, contrary to the general tendency in the translation to suppress ecclesiastical material, this is a rare instance in which the translator has actually added such material. It is possible that either the translator had an association with this abbey or that he may have simply travelled through the area, visiting the abbey and noting information he picked up, as he may have done

12 WT, 18.2 lines 3–5.

13 Paris, 18.2 vol. 2 p. 192.

14 Paris, 18.2 vol. 2 pp. 193.

15 C. Egger, ‘The Canon Regular: Saint-Ruf in Context’, *Adrian IV: The English Pope*, ed. B. Bolton and A.J. Duggan (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 27–28.

with the southern Italian city of Bari, where he notes the tomb of St Nicholas. It may be of significance that both St Ruf near Valence and St Victor in Paris were communities of regular canons who followed the Augustinian Rule.

Another area of ecclesiastical interest is the translator's treatment of Thomas Becket, about whom he added information concerning activities in France. William related that Becket spent seven years in exile: 'eundem regem persecutorem fugiens exilium compulsus est subire, quod in Francia septennio continuo mirabilis et predicanda tulit patientia'¹⁶ [fleeing from persecution of the same king (Henry II) he was suddenly forced into exile, so that he worked miracles and preached patience for seven years in France]. The translator, however, is more specific: 'li preudom s'en vint com essilliez eu roiaume de France qui maintes foiz a secoru au besoigneus; vii. anz demora en cel essil, pres que touzjorz fu en la cite de Senz et a Potegni'¹⁷ [this worthy man went in exile in the Kingdom of France which had many times aided him in his undertaking. For seven years he stayed in exile, nearly the entire time he was in the cities of Sens and Potigny]. Further passages were added, relating how Becket suffered grievous wrongs for the rights of the church: 'il qui en mout grant pacience avoit sofferz les torz et les grevemenz que l'eu li avoit fet, porce qu'il deffendoit la droiture de seinte eglise'¹⁸ [He who had suffered with much patience the wrongs and hardships that had been done to him, because he wished to defend the rights of the Church]. The translator also adds the exact location in the cathedral at Canterbury where Becket was killed: 'devant un autel qui est si come l'en vet des cloistre vers le cuer'¹⁹ [before an altar which is just as one enters from the cloister towards the choir]. This passage is particularly striking because of the similarity with the additional passage in Book 20.11, which related the location of the grave of the bishop of Banyas. While the translator may have visited Canterbury, its significance may be that many leading scholars in Paris were sympathetic to Becket following his death.²⁰ Additionally, Becket had preached in the chapter house of the abbey of St Victor on 4 September 1170.²¹

A final ecclesiastical addition made by the translator concerns the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Chapter 11.15 discusses the death of Gibelin of Arles, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the election of

16 WT, 20.21 lines 34–36.

17 Paris, 20.20 vol. 2 p. 342.

18 Paris, 20.20 vol. 2 p. 342.

19 Paris, 20.20 vol. 2 p. 342.

20 F. Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London, 1986), p. 20.

21 Barlow, p. 214.

Arnulf of Chocques, who was archdeacon at the time. William was critical of Arnulf throughout his text, referencing Job 34:30 at Arnulf's election, 'sed propter peccata populi patitur deus regnare hypocritam'²² [God allowed a hypocrite to rule on account of the sins of the people]. The translator maintains this negative view of Arnulf: 'bien cuit que ce fu por le pechie du clergie et du pueple qui par haine Nostre Seigneur avoient deservi tel prelat sur eus'²³ [God wished this because of the sins of the clergy and the people who, through hatred of Our Lord, deserved such a prelate over them]. The translator was also critical of the canons who were installed in the Holy Sepulchre by Arnulf and who replaced those installed by Godfrey de Bouillon and the other leaders on the First Crusade as penance for the damages caused during the capture of Jerusalem. William simply stated 'ordinem, quem primi principes studiose et cum multa deliberatione in ecclesia Ierosolimitana instituerant, regulares canonicos introducendo commutavit'²⁴ [he changed the Order in the church of Jerusalem, set up by the first princes with care and great deliberation, by introducing Regular Canons]. The French text adds to this:

Pource que il poïst mieuz fere sa volenté des choses de l'eglise, il porchaça tant par sa malice, que li establissemenz fu despeciez que li dux Godefroiz et li autre baron avoient establi en l'eglise du Sepuchre, quant la cité fu conquise; car il i mistrent clers qui avoient riches provendes, et par eus et par leur compaignies servoient mout hautement l'eglise; cil ne fina onques jusque il i ot mis chanoines rieulez, qui estoient menue genz, ne riens ne li osoient contredire qu'il vousist fere.²⁵

[Because he wanted weaker men who would do his bidding in matters of the Church, he determined, in his malice, that he would destroy the Order that Duke Godfrey and the other barons had established in the church of the Sepulchre when the city was conquered, for they had brought there clerks who had rich stipends, and through these men and their companions, they worthily served the Church. This was ended when Arnulf brought Regular Canons there, who were lesser men and did not dare to contradict what he wanted to do.]

The translator here describes the canons, placed in the Sepulchre by Arnulf, as being 'menue genz' [lesser men] and criticized them for failing to speak out

22 WT, 11.15 lines 5–6.

23 Paris, 11.15 vol. 1 p. 405.

24 WT, 11.15 lines 15–17.

25 Paris, 11.15 vol. 1 pp. 405–406.

against Arnulf. This criticism of the canons in the Holy Sepulcher may be indicative of the translator's association with this order and a reflexion of his expectations for the behaviour of fellow canons.

That the translator was a cleric can be seen to be beyond doubt. Throughout the translation, despite omitting biblical material, the translator appears to show a good knowledge of scripture that a layman would not ordinarily possess. In addition to an interest in the Augustinian canons, and being competent enough with Latin to be able to translate William's text, he was able to name books from which William took quotes and was able to provide references of his own. In addition, the translator set himself apart from the lay community in Book 8.3. At this point in the description of Jerusalem, the translator alters William's mention of 'Templum Domini'²⁶ to read 'li Temples que la laie gent apelent le Temple Dominus'²⁷ [the Temple that the lay men call the Temple of the Lord]. It is clear from this that the translator was distinguishing the language of the laity, and their illiteracy, from the language of clerics, with which he associated himself. The fact that all of his ecclesiastical additions refer to Augustinian canons, or to churches under their control, suggest he himself was an Augustinian canon. The translator's knowledge of affairs in France and the French monarchy indicate that he was working in the Île de France and may possibly have had connections with the abbey of St Victor in Paris.

26 WT, 8.3 line 36.

27 Paris, 8.3 vol. 1 p. 267.

The Translator as a Pilgrim

Did the translator visit the East as Pryor has suggested?¹ Because the translator's voice is not prominent in the text it is difficult to answer this question. Therefore it is necessary to examine the alterations to William of Tyre's text to determine whether anything added would indicate that he had travelled. It is entirely possible, however, that additional information is not the personal input of the translator, that he was working in an ecclesiastical environment with colleagues who had travelled. In any case, there are few additional references to the East, and no large portion of another text has been added to William's *Historia*. The translator was careful to name William as the author of the text and does not identify any other source of information.

The majority of additions in the *Eracles* text serve as glosses, providing information or explanations. For example, where William mentioned that Bohemond of Taranto and Baldwin de Boulogne were marching to Jerusalem during the month of December,² the translator adds that December 'sieut estre mout pluieus en cele terre'³ [known to be the wettest in this land]. This passage further portrays the difficulties faced by the crusaders. It may also show, however, first-hand experience of the East. Bernard Hamilton has pointed out a similar instance near the end of the text⁴ where Saladin is depicted crossing the desert between Egypt and the Kingdom of Jerusalem. William related: 'Porro Salahadinus, transcura cum suis expeditionibus solitudine, quod iter cum multa difficultate vix diebus viginti confecerat, iamque terram habitabilem'.⁵ [Moreover, Saladin, having crossed the desert with his army, the journey took twenty days and was very difficult, finally (reached) inhabited land]. The *Eracles* reads 'Salehadins ot pasée la voie des deserz ou il et sa gent orent soffertes mout granz peines, porce que ausi sordent tempestes és sablons com en la mer'⁶ [Saladin had travelled the desert roads where his men had suffered

1 Pryor, pp. 284–288.

2 WT, 9.14 line 41.

3 Paris, 9.14 vol. 1 p. 318.

4 Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', pp. 99–100.

5 WT, 22.15 (14) lines 38–40; in Huygens's edition the verb is lacking from the end of this sentence, but he notes that two manuscripts read 'iam terram habitabilem attigit' WT, 22.15(14) line 40 n.

6 Paris, 22.13 vol. 2 p. 432.

great hardships, because there are storms in the sand just as there are in the sea]. This is another instance in which the translator has added local information to explain the difficulties alluded to in William's text.

William noted that, during King Amaury's siege of Damietta in 1169, the Greek forces began to run short of food and sought food from the nearby palm trees.

Cedebatur ad usus varios silva palmarum castris contermina deictisque ad terram certatim arboribus, in summo earum, unde rami habent originem, Greci fame laborantes querebant multo studio quandam teneritudinem, unde ramis humor vitalis ministratur, esui quodammodo habilem, unde suam, licet misere, consolabantur esuriem: querendi victus artem fames auxerat et ventris appetites rugientis sollertiam induxerat ampliorrem. Hoc sane per dies aliquot edulio vitam misere protrahantes famen laborabant depellere.⁷

[Cutting down a palm grove in the area near the camp for various uses, the Greeks, who were suffering from hunger, sought a tender shoot from the tops of certain trees, where the branches grow. The sap from these branches is suitable for food, although it is from a lowly source, and comforts the hungry: for a rumbling belly aids and increases the skill of those seeking food to alleviate hunger. This was certainly a time in which nourishment prolonged a miserable life as they worked to avoid hunger.]

The French renders this as:

Lors veissiez que il abatoient les paumiers qui entor la ville estoient ausi espessement com une grant forest; au sommet queroient un tendron que l'en apele le fromage qui assez est de bone saveur, et en ce est la vie de tout l'arbre. Cil qui mouroient de faim le menjoient mout volentiers, et de ce vesquirent ne sai quanz jorz.⁸

[They discovered that if they should cut down the palm trees which surrounded the town, which were as abundant as a great forest, in they tops they would find a shoot that is called the *fromage*, which is very nourishing, and in this is all of the life of the tree. Those who would have died of starvation ate most willingly, and on this they lived for I do not know how many days.]

7 WT, 20.16 lines 4–11.

8 Paris, 20.15 vol. 2 p. 332.

By naming the ‘fromage’ that the Greek used, the translator gives the appearance of adding local knowledge from personal experience, as in his description of the palm trees as ‘une grant forest’, though this may be simply a stylistic addition. William did name the foods that some of the Greeks had, ‘avellane passe et sicce castanee’⁹ [hazelnuts and chestnuts], which are also named in the French, ‘avelannes et chasteignes seches’.¹⁰ It could be the case that the addition of ‘fromage’ reflects a Latin manuscript that has not survived, but current evidence points to the translator introducing ‘fromage’.

Some of the glosses in William’s text are lacking in the French text. An example occurs when the city of Damietta, in Egypt, is mentioned in William’s text. When relating that several Greek ships were wrecked near the city during a storm, the phrase ‘in finibus Egypti’¹¹ [within the borders of Egypt] is removed in the translation. William’s reference to Saladin gathering troops from Alexandria and all of Egypt, ‘ab Alexandri et universa Aegypto’¹² has been replaced with ‘en Alixandre a Damietta et par toute Egypte’.¹³ The first instance is similar to the translator’s treatment of Canterbury during the discussion of Thomas Becket, where the phrase ‘in anglia apud’¹⁴ is removed. It seems that William’s glosses were dropped in the French translation because the information they contained was common knowledge. Becket’s fame and subsequent elevation as a saint, and the position of Canterbury as his shrine, meant that it was not necessary to state that Canterbury was in England. Likewise, it may not have been necessary to say that Damietta was in Egypt as a consequence of the events of the Fifth Crusade. The translator’s apparent knowledge of the landscape of Egypt and knowledge of the food available for scavenging in the vicinity of Damietta could possibly indicate that he had been there. This, however, cannot be said with any certainty.

Some of the translator’s glosses simply provide a definition for a word or term that may have been unfamiliar to a Western audience. When Alexius, the *Protosebastos* of the emperor Alexius II, is mentioned, the *Eracles* text adds ‘qui estoit seneschaus de la terre, et por ce estoit apelez en leur langage Protosevasto’¹⁵ [who was seneschal of the land, and for this was called in their language *Protosevasto*]. Other instances appear in which the translator shows

9 WT, 20.16 line 14.

10 Paris, 20.15 vol. 2 p. 332.

11 WT, 22.15(14) line 2.

12 WT, 22.18(17) line 10.

13 Paris, 22.16 vol. 2 p. 439.

14 WT, 20.21 line 22.

15 Paris, 22.9 vol. 2 p. 423.

knowledge of Eastern affairs. In a particular instance, as Hamilton pointed out,¹⁶ the translator adds to the discussion of Saladin's peace agreement with Raymond, count of Tripoli, the statement that this truce did not apply to the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 'qui n'avoit mie esté és trives le Roi'¹⁷ [who had not been included in the truce of the king]. The translator was pointing out that the county of Tripoli was independent from the Kingdom of Jerusalem, which may not have been known in the West, although his intention was to point out that the count of Tripoli did not have the authority to make a treaty on behalf of the kingdom. In a number of instances the translator adds the phrase 'que l'en apele Bedoins' [those that are called Bedouins] to the forces gathered by Shirkuh and Saladin from Arabia. In Book 19.25 William simply referred to these troops as coming from Arabia, 'preterea Arabum aut decem aut undecim milia lanceis'¹⁸ [moreover the Arabs had ten or eleven thousand spears] rather than the translator's 'De l'autre part avec lui estoient plus de .x.m Tur d'Arabe que l'en apele Bedoins qui tuit avoient bons glaives'¹⁹ [on the other side he had with him more than ten thousand Turks of Arabia, that are called Bedouin, who had spears]. In this case the Bedouin are clearly identified as a different group from the rest of Shirkuh's forces. While William was not sure about numbers of troops, 'aut undecim', the translator is more precise. This may be simply a stylistic alteration. A similar addition is made to the flight of the Bedouin forces following Baldwin IV's victory over Saladin at the battle of Montgisart in 1177, and their raid on Saladin's baggage train. Again, William simply referred to these troops as 'Arabes',²⁰ while the translator again refers to them as 'Li Tur d'Arabe que l'en apele Bedoins'.²¹ A final instance occurs in the same chapter during the discussion that it was the custom of the Bedouin to await the outcome of the battle and then join the victorious side. William referred to them as 'huic generationi'²² [these people] while the translation again names them as 'Bedoin'.²³ The translator consistently particularises their name, indicating that he had been in the East and had learned the local name for these people. Again it is possible that the source of this information could have been from elsewhere, but the repetitive nature of the addition suggests that the translator

16 Hamilton, 'Old French Translation', p. 98.

17 Paris, 22.2 vol. 2 p. 411.

18 WT, 19.25 lines 8–9.

19 Paris, 19.26 vol. 2 p. 293.

20 WT, 21.23 (24) line 15.

21 Paris, 21.22 vol. 2 p. 397.

22 WT, 21.23 (24) line 23.

23 Paris, 21.22 vol. 2 p. 397.

was stressing this point. A gloss of particular importance occurs in Book 4.7. This relates to the fortress of Marese, besieged by Duke Godfrey and the crusader army, of which the translator notes 'ce n'est mie cele dont je ai parlé desus, car ele a non Marase'²⁴ [this is not the same city that I spoke of above, that city was called *Marase*]. The latter of these two, modern Kahramanmaraş in eastern Turkey, was in Cilicia, north of Tarsus, and a long way from Marese, which is near to Antioch. William identified Kahramanmaraş with 'Marasia'²⁵ and Marese with 'Maresia'.²⁶ The translator follows William's text but highlighted the difference between these two cities that could be confused due to the similar spellings, thus he appears to have a good understanding of the geography of the Latin East.

While this information is found in William's text, the translator was not always correct regarding his geography references, such as with William's reference to Barcelona as the birthplace of Peter, elected archbishop of Tyre in 1151²⁷; the translator replaces 'de Citeriore...Hispania'²⁸ with 'en Navarre'.²⁹ William's use of the classical term for the province, 'Citerior Hispania', refers to the northeastern side of Spain and the Kingdom of Aragon, the location of Barcelona. The fact that the translator replaced this with 'Navarre', which is in the north of Spain, west of Aragon, indicates that he was not familiar with the geography of Spain. It may be further evidence that the translator was working in France, as the reference to 'this side of Spain' seems to have prompted the translator to name Navarre because it bordered France. This is one of the few places in which the translator appears to have been confused by William's Latin, particularly by his fondness for classical terms. In contrast, the translator was aware of the general geography of the Latin East, even if he never travelled there, and was not easily confused by similar place names and by the terminology used by William.

The translator made several additions to the description of Jerusalem. While most of these are minor they tend to be concentrated on places that would have been visited by pilgrims. One particular example concerns the minarets at the corners of the Haram al-Sharif to which the translator adds 'ou li Sarrazin fesoient leur oroisons'³⁰ [where the Saracens make their prayers]. This may

24 Paris, 4.7 vol. 1 p. 129.

25 WT, 3.19 (18) line 27.

26 WT, 4.7 line 3.

27 Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 73.

28 WT, 16.17 line 45; as elsewhere.

29 Paris, 16.17 vol. 2 p. 116.

30 Paris, 8.3 vol. 1 p. 268.

indicate either knowledge of Jerusalem or of Islamic customs, which would still imply a general knowledge of the East though not specifically to Jerusalem.³¹ He again displays his knowledge in Book 20.29, where William mentioned that the Nizārī Ismaʿīlī sect were allowed to eat pork and drink wine³²; the translator adds that this was done ‘en despit de Mahomet et de sa loi’³³ [in contempt of Muhammad and his law].

At Book 16.29 the translator makes interesting additions regarding the geography of the Levant. This chapter discusses the arrival of Louis VII in Jerusalem in 1148 and the political structure of the Latin East. William stated: ‘Orientalis enim Latinorum tota regio quattor principibus erat distincta’³⁴ [The whole of the Latin East was divided into four principalities]. The translator alters this to read ‘La terre qui estoit aus Crestiens a ce jor outré mer, estoit toute partie en quatre granz baronies’³⁵ [The land over the sea, which was Christian at this time, was divided into four great baronies]. The French version is decidedly Western in point of view. The translator’s use of the word ‘baronies’ is clearly deliberate, as he explains ‘je ai apelé le roiaume baronie, porce qu’il estoit si petiz’³⁶ [I have called the kingdom a barony because it was so small]. This mention that the Kingdom of Jerusalem was small, compared with the Western kingdoms of France and England, shows that the translator was aware of the situation in the East. It is interesting to note that he did not appear overly reverent as regards the Kingdom of Jerusalem when he demoted it from a kingdom to a barony.

Another addition that may show knowledge of the Latin East relates to the area around Bethlehem. Chapter 11.12 discusses the elevation of the church at Bethlehem to a cathedral. Since a large part of William’s text consists of the quotation of the charter granting the honour to the church, most of which is omitted in the translation, this chapter is heavily modified. A portion of the charter the translation retains refers to ‘villam etiam Bethleem...et unum casale quod est in territorio Accon, nomine Bedar’³⁷ [and the town of Bethlehem,... and an estate which is in the territory of Acre, called Bedar]. The translator keeps this reference to Bethlehem and its dependent lands but adds a gloss to the term ‘casale’, which reads ‘un caseau, ainsi claime-l’en la villes champestres’³⁸

31 Cf. Usama ibn Munqidh, *The Book of Contemplation*, trans. P. Cobb (London, 2008), p. 147.

32 WT, 20.29 lines 36–37.

33 Paris, 20.28 vol. 2 p. 358.

34 WT, 16.29 lines 8–9.

35 Paris, 16.29 vol. 2 p. 136.

36 Paris, 16.29 vol. 2 p. 136.

37 WT, 11.12 lines 56–60.

38 Paris, 11.12 vol. 1 p. 398.

[a *caseau*, which is what they call a hamlet]. While this is another case in which the translator explained a term unfamiliar to his audience, he has given a vernacular form of ‘casale’ and then explained the term, indicating that the term ‘caseau’ was not in common use in France at the time of the translation. The term appears in Godefroy’s *Dictionnaire* under ‘casale’, defined as ‘les villes entor les citéz que l’en claimé “caseaus” en la terre’ and cited this passage in the *Eracles* text.³⁹ It is therefore possible that the translator had encountered the term ‘casale’ only in the East.

There are also a few additions that concern southern France and Italy, areas generally outside of the translator’s concerns. They may indicate the route from central France he would have taken to find a ship in Italy to continue his pilgrimage. The first of these is in Book 11.14, which discusses moving the abbey of St Ruf from Avignon, further up the Rhône Valley, to Valence by Pope Adrian IV. In light of his remark ‘lors fist du suen mout bele eglise qui encor i est, et mout riches edifices’, it seems that the translator had visited this abbey.⁴⁰ This statement is unlikely to have come from another source, since the abbey was not well known. There are two more references to locations on the Rhône. In Book 15.15 the translator adds that the city of Lyon is ‘sur le Rosne’.⁴¹ Later, Book 19.23, in a discussion of Egypt, mentions the martyrdoms of Sts Maurice and Augano, who had been born in Thebes. To this the translator added the place where they had been martyred: ‘outre le lai de Losane sur le Rodne, au leu que l’en apele Chabloi’⁴² [over Lake Geneva, on the Rhône, in the place that is called Chablais]. This phrase is of interest because the wording ‘outre le lai’ would imply that the translator was based somewhere on the opposite side of the Lac de Lausanne, now Lake Geneva, from Chablais. This city is located south of Lake Geneva and indicates that the translator was observing from the north. Perhaps the translator had journeyed to Lake Geneva before following the course of the Rhône to the southern coast of France. The mention of Chablais in connection with the two saints is similar to references in Italy that were also sites of pilgrimage and seems to indicate places the translator would have visited on his journey.

It seems probable that the translator did, in fact, travel to the East either on a pilgrimage or on a crusade. The fact that there are so few additions, given the length of the text, would seem to indicate that the translator did not insert

39 F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l’Ancienne Langue Française*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1880), p. 325.

40 Paris, 18.2 vol. 2 p. 193.

41 Paris, 15.15 vol. 2 p. 69.

42 Paris, 19.23 vol. 2 p. 289.

material from another source but utilized his own personal knowledge. These additions, being glosses to William's text, suggest that the translator felt that his Western audience would not have the background knowledge to fully understand the point. The addition of 'fromage', as the name for the food scavenged by Greek troops in the vicinity of Damietta, as well as the reference to the amount of rainfall in December being a hindrance to an army on the march, would not be the sort of material gleaned from pilgrimage accounts but must indicate first-hand knowledge of either the translator or another who had travelled to the East, although at no point did he credit another source. The glosses generally are short and appear to be personal anecdotes. The information added about the East is similar to information added about France and the the First Crusaders.

Views on the Military Orders

The major concern of the translation is the Kingdom of France and to extol the deeds of *le gent de France*, particularly those who participated in the First Crusade. Several additions, however, do not relate to the areas under the control of Philip. Particular additions relate to Thomas Becket, of whom the translator appears to have had a keen interest. There are also additions relating to Italy, Greece, and the Latin East, which may indicate that the translator had been on a pilgrimage and was adding first-hand knowledge. Moreover, a few alterations to William's text shed light on the Military Orders.

The common addition consists of information regarding a crusader's place of birth or general region they were from. The translator did this for several French crusaders¹ and for one knight, Gilbert de Lacy. In 1163 a group of French pilgrims, identified by William as Geoffrey Martel and Hugh 'Le Brun' de Lusignan, were travelling to Antioch escorted by a group of Templars under the command of Gilbert de Lacy, whom William described as 'vir nobilis et in armis exercitatus, preceptor fratrum militie Templi in partibus illis'² [a noble man and skilled in arms, preceptor of the Templars in those parts]. The translator keeps this description, 'chevetaine de cele chevauchée li comanderes du Temple en ces parties' [captain of this cavalcade, the commander of the Temple in these parts] while adding 'nez d'Angleterre'³ [born in England]. In general, de Lacy seems to be removed from the circle of those about whom he normally added information. He may have been remembered by pilgrims after returning to the West because De Lacy and the Templars had defended the pilgrim party from an attack by Nur al-Din. It seems that the translator was aware of a powerful de Lacy family in England and made the logical conclusion that Gilbert was a member.

The translator made several other additions relating to the Templar Order. As well as references to Hugh de Payns and Geoffrey Fulcher, discussed earlier, the translator expanded on William's description of the foundation of the order. William wrote that the Templars were given a rule similar to that of the Augustinian canons: 'in manu domini patriarche...more canonicorum regularium in castitate

1 Paris, 9.5 vol. 1 p. 303.

2 WT, 19.8 lines 19–21.

3 Paris, 19.7 vol. 2 p. 263.

et obedientia et sine proprio velle perpetuo vivere professi sunt'⁴ [They swore to the patriarch to always live in poverty, chastity and obedience, similar to the customs of the Regular Canons]. The translator adds a further emphasis upon the communal life of the order: 'proposement de remanoir a touzjors eu service Nostre Seigneur et avoir commune vie, si come chanoine riglé. En la main au Patriarche voerent chastée et obedience, et renocierent a toute propriété'⁵ [they proposed to always remain in service to Our Lord and to live a communal life, just as the Regular Canons. They swore to the patriarch that they would live in poverty and chastity and would renounce all property]. In this, the translator showed an understanding of the rule and life of the Augustinian Canons.

Later, in Book 18.9, the translator mentions the Templars again. This chapter recounts the death of the caliph al-Zafir, killed by the vizier 'Abbās, the latter's subsequent death, and how his son, Nasir, sought refuge in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. William stated that the Templars held Nasir prisoner, and that he wished to be baptised: 'in Christo regenerari'.⁶ However, William went on to relate that 'Abbās's son, nonetheless, was returned to the Egyptians in exchange for 60,000 besants and was executed. While William was critical of the Templars, the translator goes even further with his criticism, by adding 'li Templier n'en orent cure, aincois en firent une mout grant cruauté sauves leur graces'⁷ [the Templars did not care, they would rather commit a great cruelty than protect their souls]. Although the translation was likely to have been made nearly ninety years before the arrest of the Templars by Philip IV in 1307, this addition may reflect an ongoing criticism of the order in the West. The translator did not insert critical comments about the order throughout the text, but this mention of their conduct in this affair gave him an opportunity to make a general comment about the order.

William was again critical of the Templars in Book 20.30 regarding their conduct towards the ambassadors from the Nizārī Isma'īlī (Assassin) sect. As in the previous example, William spoke highly of the Muslims and stressed the possibility of their conversion, but the ambassadors were killed by brothers of the order amid accusations that the Templars did not want to lose rent owed to them.⁸ William criticised their conduct: 'nam in eo et auctoritas regia videbatur deperire et christiani nominis fides et constantia inmeritam contrahere

4 WT, 12.7 lines 2–5.

5 Paris, 12.7 vol. 1 p. 441–442.

6 WT, 18.9 lines 57–58.

7 Paris, 18.9 vol. 2 p. 208.

8 WT, 20.30 lines 1–14.

infamiam et Orientalis ecclesia deo placitum et iam paratum incrementum amittere'⁹ [it seemed that they diminished the authority of the king, constantly brought ignominy and infamy upon the name of faithful Christians and continued to break the Peace of God in the Eastern Church]. The translator alters this slightly to 'et grant honte avoit l'en fet a Dame Dieu et a toute Crestienté et nomeement au Roi'¹⁰ [this deed brought great shame to God, to all of Christianity and particularly to the king]. Although this story is well known from William's account, there appears to be very little corroboration of it. Walter Map included a version, but in it the envoys came before the patriarch of Jerusalem and not the king. He also ended the passage with the comment that he did not know whether the story was true but that the Templars had performed good deeds in the West; instead, he criticised the Hospitallers. Jacques de Vitry, included the story, while avoiding saying that the Templars were responsible for killing the envoys.¹¹

The translator does not appear elsewhere to show interest in the Templars as an order; the additions relating to Hugh de Payns and Gilbert de Lacy are geographical and are similar to those made for other Western knights. Even so, it is clear that the translator did not hold the Templars in high regard and did nothing to allay the negative view given by William. In fact, he seems slightly to have been enhancing criticism of the Order, unlike other times, particularly in regard to Hugh *le Maine* and other French crusaders, when he softened William's criticism.

Other references to the Templars, like the link between the Templars and the Augustinian Rule, mention another order, this time the Hospitallers. At Book 20.5 William discussed a proposed collaborative attack on Egypt by King Amaury and Emperor Manuel in 1168. He related that the Hospitallers, under Gilbert d'Assailly, urged Amaury to undertake the campaign while the Templars, led by Bertrand de Blanquefort, were against the proposal due to the agreed truce between Egypt and the Kingdom of Jerusalem.¹² The translator added, by way of explanation, 'car touzjorz a envie entre ces deus meisons'¹³ [there was always envy between these two houses], showing here an understanding of

9 WT, 20.30 lines 19–22.

10 Paris, 20.29 vol. 2 p. 359.

11 P. Edbury, 'The Old French William of Tyre, the Templars and the Assassin Envoy', *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell*, ed. K. Borchardt, N. Jaspert, and H.J. Nicholson (Aldershot, 2007), p. 26–27; B. Hamilton 'The Templars, the Syrian Assassins and King Amalric of Jerusalem', *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe*, p. 21.

12 WT, 20.5 lines 1–39.

13 Paris, 20.4 vol. 2 p. 317.

relations between the two major orders. Being generally negative towards the Templars he made no attempt to add anything that would reflect well on the order. The opposite appears to be the case regarding the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem. During the discussion of the Christians under Fatimid Jerusalem in Book 1.10, the translator adds to the mention of the church of St Mary of the Latins taking in poor pilgrims that, according to William, was the origin of the Hospitaller order¹⁴ [and it was a house of great charity].¹⁵

The translator made a number of alterations to Book 18.3, which depicts the dispute that arose between the Hospitallers, under Raymond du Puy, and Fulk de Angoulême, the patriarch of Jerusalem. This chapter is particularly damaging to the order, as it is accused of subverting the rights of the Holy Sepulchre—in particular, giving the sacraments and burial to those under excommunication and taking tithes and other fees that otherwise should have gone to the church. This well-known dispute was amplified by William accusing the order of shooting arrows into the Sepulchre and ringing their bells whenever the patriarch was attempting to preach. Eventually an appeal was made by the patriarch to Pope Adrian IV to settle the dispute.¹⁶ William was very critical of the Hospitallers, and, although he admitted that in other respects Raymond was a religious and God-fearing man,¹⁷ his general tone is hostile to the Hospitallers. Although there are a few instances of rewording that eliminate an Eastern point of view, such as replacing ‘tractus Orientalis noster’¹⁸ [our Eastern region] with ‘partes d’Orient’¹⁹ [region of the East], the translator kept all of the material in this chapter, including the criticism regarding the Hospitallers’. Three additions, however, emphasise the fact that, while in this particular episode they were in the wrong, the Hospitallers were in general a noble and worthy order. The first is a simple and short addition of ‘li deables qui touzjorz aime contenz i sema une noise tele come je vos dirai’²⁰ [the devil, who always loves conflict, created a quarrel that I shall tell you of]. The second, ‘les esmut li aticemenz du deable’²¹ [they were stirred up by the enticement of the devil], is attached to the specific action of breaking into the Holy Sepulchre and shooting arrows. The translator’s additions did not regularly add references to divine,

14 WT, 18.4–5.

15 Paris, 1.10 vol. 1 p. 20.

16 WT, 18.3 lines 3–72.

17 WT, 18.3 line 8.

18 WT, 18.3 line 2.

19 Paris, 18.3 vol. 2 p. 194.

20 Paris, 18.3 vol. 2 p. 194.

21 Paris, 18.3 vol. 2 p. 196.

or in this case diabolical, intervention; these are the only two, and they are both found within a single chapter.

The third addition is much longer and follows the description of the dispute.

Ne mie por ce, la verité ne doit-on pas celer. Cil orders a grant mestier eu, puis par maintes fois en la terre d'outre mer, aus povres crestiens heberger, pestre et sostenir, ensevelir et enterrer ennoréement ceus qui mour-oient, et en faire maintes autres oevres de charité. Les anemis de la foi ont, li frere de l'Ospital, guerroiez viguerousement et grevez en maintes manieres; assez i a puis entré de pseudomes qui, par l'aide Nostre Seigneur, ont leur ames sauvées en cel ordre, et qui ne s'accordoient mie aus orgueus ne aus outraiges, quant il les veoient fere aus autres.²²

[This was not a small matter, and the truth ought not be concealed. This order has a great calling, for many times in the land over the sea they have provided lodging for poor Christians and fed and sustained them, taken away and buried honourably those who have died, and done many other works of charity. The brothers of the Hospital wage a vigorous war with the enemies of the Faith and wound them in many ways. Among them are a great number of worthy men who, by the aid of Our Lord, have saved their souls in this order, and who would not agree to commit such arrogance and wrongs when they were done to others.]

This passage serves as a defence of the order and, to an extent, was a direct reply to the charges against the Hospitallers given by William. At no point, however, did he add information about the order or its members, and was clearly not associated with them. However, he was prepared to make statements in their defence, something he did not do for the Templars.

A few chapters later, in Book 18.6, the translator makes an addition regarding the Hospital. At the beginning of the chapter William commented on the rise from a small humble dwelling of the Hospitaller order: 'Sic ergo de tam modico incrementum habentes, predicte Domus fraters'²³ [thus from having so little, the aforesaid brothers increased their possessions]. The translator expands upon this slightly with 'De si petit commencement sont venu li Ospitalier au grant pooir que il ont'²⁴ [The Hospitallers came from such a small beginning to be the great power that they are]. Shortly after this the translator

²² Paris, 18.3 vol. 2 p. 196.

²³ WT, 18.6 lines 1–2.

²⁴ Paris, 18.6 vol. 2 p. 201.

replaces 'multiplicatis in immensum divitiis'²⁵ [gaining immense wealth] with 'l'en leur comenca a doner de granz aumones por les povres soutenir'²⁶ [they began to give large amounts of alms in order to sustain the poor]. Again the translator emphasises the good works and charity of the Hospitallers as well as the prestige of the order. Returning to the dispute between the Hospitallers and the patriarch of Jerusalem, the translator also makes several alterations to Book 18.8, which describes the audience of the patriarch before Adrian IV in order to settle the dispute. In general, the additions in this chapter generally serve to recall previous events, such as a restatement of the patriarch's purpose for wishing to see the pope, 'maintes foiz requistrent que l'en les oist contre les Ospitaliers et feist l'en droit' [many times they requested he should hear them speak against the Hospitallers that he should uphold justice], or a restatement of the dispute, 'car fust il touz certains que li Ospitalier feroient contre lui et contre les eglises ce qu'il voudroient'²⁷ [he was certain that the Hospitallers acted as they wished against him and against the Church]. In a stylistic change, the translator replaces 'per dies multos'²⁸ [over many days] regarding the time the patriarch had to wait for an audience with 'apres ce jor orent un autre puis le tierz, le quart et le quint qui mout estoient loing a loing'²⁹ [after that day had gone there was another, then a third, a fourth, and a fifth, which was a very long time]. The alterations in this chapter do not serve, as in the previous additions, as a defence of the Order. However, recalling of information serves to accentuate the Hospitallers in general and this dispute in particular.

25 WT, 18.6 line 3.

26 Paris, 18.6 vol. 2 p. 201.

27 Paris, 18.8 vol. 2 p. 204.

28 WT, 18.8 line 11.

29 Paris, 18.8 vol. 2 p. 204.

Reliability of the Editions

Both editions of the *Eracles* contain instances in which their readings do not match those in the manuscripts closest to the original translation. The most significant of these differences provides the criteria for choosing sample chapters to establish a manuscript stemma. These variants include the addition of new material. While, hitherto, the Paulin Paris edition has been used for a comparison with the Latin text, here the *RHC* edition has been checked to see whether it contains the same differences.

The most striking change that occurs in the Paris edition is found in Book 1.17 where the lesser nobles who participated in the First Crusade are listed. William named:

Henricus de Ascha, Radulfus de Balgentiaco, Ebrardus de Pusato, Centonius de Bear, Willelmus Amaneus, Gaustus de Bederz, Willelmus de Monte Pessulano, Girardus de Rossellun, Gerardus de Ceresiaco, Rogerus de Barnavilla, Guido de Porsessa et Guido de Garlanda, Francorum regis dapifer, Thomas de Feria, Galo de Calvo Monte.¹

[Henry de Esche-sur-Sûre, Ralph de Beaugency, Everard de Puy, Centule IV de Béarn, William Amanieu, Gaston de Béziers, William de Montpellier, Gerard de Rousillon, Gerard de Quierzy, Roger de Barneville, Guy de Possesse and Guy de Garlanda, *dapifer* of the king of France, Thomas de La Fèr, Galen de Moncalvo.]

Paris gave this list as:

Raous de Baujenci, Everarz du Puisat, Guy de Garlande seneschaus le roi de France, Thomas de la Fere, Guiz de Possesse, Gales de Chaumont, Giraz de Cherisi, Rogiers de Barneville, Henris de Asque et Godefrois ses freres, Centons de Montpellier, Girarz de Rousillon.²

[Ralph de Beaugency, Everard de Puy, Guy de Garlanda, seneschal of the king of France, Thomas de La Fèr, Guy de Possesse, Galen de Chaumont,

1 WT, 1.17 lines 20–25.

2 Paris, 1.17 vol. 1 pp. 31–32.

Gerard de Quierzy, Roger de Barneville, Henry de Esche-sur-Sûre and Godfrey his brother, Centon de Montpellier, Gerard de Rousillon.]

Godfrey de Esche-sur-Sûre, brother of Henry, has been added to this list, a name William mentioned later in the text as being a participant in the crusade. This particular addition is not found in F52, the base manuscript for the Paris edition, nor is it in F38 or Fo6. The only manuscript that contained this addition is Fo5. While Fo5 is an early manuscript, dated c.1245–48, F38 and Fo6 are also from the mid-thirteenth century. While Godfrey may have been dropped from the tradition, the fact that his name is not present in Latin or any early French manuscripts, except for Fo5, means that it is likely that shortly after the original translation was made, a copyist added Godfrey's name to Fo5, or one of its possible antecedents.

The major difference with this list, however, is that the Paris edition lacks 'de Bear, Willelmus Amaneus, Gaustus de Bederz, Willelmus.' A comparison with the *RHC* edition shows that it contains a complete list that matches the Latin.

Raoul de Baujenci, Esvrat del Puisat, Gui de Garlande seneschal le roi de France, Thomas de Fere, Gui de Possesse, Gales de Chaumont, Girard de Cherisi, Rogiers de Barneville, Henris de Asque, Centons de Bearz, Guillaume Amanez, Gasces de Bediers, Guillaume de Montpellier, Girart de Rousillon.³

The *RHC* does not include the addition of Godfrey de Esche-sur-Sûre. Paris made a note in his edition of the existence of a variant reading containing the complete list in a manuscript that he labelled 'Msc. 2836. B. N'.⁴ It is unclear which manuscript this is, as it is not one of the known manuscripts of the *Eracles* text. It is possible that Paris copied the classmark incorrectly and was using BnF fr. 2826 (Fo4), which Paul Riant noted was used by the editors of the *RHC* and, like the other manuscripts, contains a reading that matches the list from the Latin text.⁵ The *RHC* editors did not note that any of their manuscripts lacked the part of the list missing from Paris's edition, nor do any of the manuscripts I have consulted lack any part of the list. Whereas this could indicate that Paris was using another, unknown, manuscript, it is more likely that he made a mistake at some point in preparing his edition.

3 *RHC*, 1.17 pp. 45–46.

4 Paris, vol. 1 p. 32 n. 5.

5 Riant, p. 248.

On the whole, the *RHC* edition appears more accurate in its reading of the manuscripts used in its preparation and does not appear to contain any major loss of information as in the previous example from the Paulin Paris edition. However, the Paris edition seems to contain, in general, a text closer to the Latin text and so may reflect more accurately the text of the original translation. At this point, it will be useful to enumerate variations between the two editions.

One particular example occurs in Book 4.21, which describes Tatikios, the Greek liaison officer for the army of the First Crusade, leaving the crusaders at Antioch. Tatikios is described as fleeing from the city in fear of the approaching Turkish army, as well as those in the citadel.⁶ In the Paris edition the Muslim forces are described as ‘Turs de par la terre et de ceus de la ville’⁷ [the Turks from the land and those from the city], while the *RHC* reads ‘ceus de la cité et par ceus de la vile’⁸ [those from the city and those from the town]. All the manuscripts consulted—Fo5, Fo6, F38, F52, and F72—match the Paris edition. While neither reading can be said to be closer to the Latin, the reading found in the Paris edition matches the early manuscripts and would appear to be closer to the original translation. The *RHC* reading is a variant of the original introduced later in the manuscript tradition and is representative of numerous variant readings found in their base manuscript, F45.⁹

A further variant occurs in Book 12.8, which describes the exile of Pope Gelasius II in 1118 in the course of his dispute with the emperor Henry V and the antipope Gregory VIII. While detailing the history of the conflict, William described Gelasius II going to Cluny ‘in regnum Francorum’.¹⁰ The Paris edition renders this as ‘en la terre qui est si douce et si piteuse, qu’ele recoit touz les essilliez, ce cest li roiaumes de France’¹¹ [in the land which is so sweet and compassionate that all suffered the distress, that is the Kingdom of France]. However, the *RHC* edition reads; ‘la terre qui est si douce, c’est France’¹² [the land which is so sweet, that is France]. The *RHC* again follows a variant found in F45.¹³ Manuscripts Fo5, F38, F52, and F72 all agree with the reading found in the Paris edition, and it seems likely that their version preserves the wording of the original translation. Fo6 simply reads ‘en la terre de France’. Although this

6 WT, 4.21 lines 1–10.

7 Paris, 4.21 vol. 1 p. 148.

8 *RHC*, 4.21 p. 186.

9 F45, fol. 37rb.

10 WT, 12.8 line 5.

11 Paris, 12.8 vol. 1 p. 444.

12 *RHC*, 12.8 p. 522.

13 F45, fol. 104vb.

reading is closer to the Latin, the fact that the word 'douce' is found in all the other manuscripts checked indicates that it was added by the translator and later dropped by a scribe.

In Book 12.12 a phrase is lacking from both of the editions. This occurs in a large addition made by the translator regarding the valour of the army under Baldwin II at the fortress of Cerep in 1120. The Paris edition reads:

Li nostre qui estoient ensemble as premereines batailles, avoient mout longuement soufert et enduré la charge de ces granz genz qui leur coroi-ent sus; si estoient tuit las et failloient presque tuit; més quant il revirent leur genz si bien contenir, si pristrent cuer et rafreschirent tuit. Lors corurent sus aus Turs plus fierement qu'il n'avoient avant fet. En ce point dura la bataille longuement.¹⁴

[Our men who were in the first attack, had suffered much and endured the assault of these great men who rushed upon them, they were in such a state that they nearly fled. But when they saw their comrades conducting themselves well, they all took heart and were refreshed. Then they rushed upon the Turks more fiercely than they had done before. In this way the battle lasted a long time.]

The *RHC* contains the addition in almost identical wording.

Li nostre qui estoient ensemble as premereinnes batailles, avoient mout longuement sofert et enduré la charge de ces granz genz qui leur coroi-ent sus si estoient tuit las et failloient presque tuit, més quant il vindrent leur genz si bien contenir, si pristrent cuer et se rafreschirent tuit. Lors corurent sus as Turs plus fierement qu'il n'avoient avant fet en cel point dura la bataille longuement.¹⁵

All the manuscripts checked contain this addition, but they also contain an additional phrase at the end of this passage: 'que li nostre grevoient leur anemis molt durement'¹⁶ [so that our men severely wounded their enemies]. The purpose of this addition is meant to enhance the prowess of the Christian soldiers. The fact that the addition is found in all of the initial manuscripts, including F05, F06, F38, and F72, indicates that it was likely a part of the original translation. The additional phrase missing in both of the editions was also

14 Paris, 12.12 vol. 1 p. 451.

15 *RHC*, 12.12 p. 530.

16 F38, fol. 51ra.

from the original translation but was subsequently dropped by a later scribe so is lacking in F45 and, subsequently, in the *RHC* edition. The fact that this additional phrase was included in a manuscript used by Paris as a base for his edition indicates that he did not use it carefully, though it may also indicate his reliance on the earlier *RHC* edition. As the phrase occurs in the middle of the chapter it is unlikely that it was lost through being at the end of a chapter. However, the ending ‘-ment’ in ‘longuement’ and ‘durement’ may indicate a form of homoteleuton that resulted in the loss of this line from a later stage of the manuscript tradition so that it is not found in F45.

There are several places in which both editions include a numerical reading at variance with the Latin text. For example, in Book 13.16 William describes Bursequins attacking a Christian force near the Euphrates in 1125 and reports that ‘viginti quattuor’¹⁷ of the Christians were killed. In both editions the number becomes ‘vint trois’.¹⁸ All the initial manuscripts consulted, including F72, contain the reading ‘.xxiiii’. While this type of error regularly occurs in manuscripts and is easily made by losing a minim, it is clear that the original translation matched the Latin text. The loss of a minim also occurs in Book 21.8, where William noted the distance between Damascus and Bedegne, at the foot of Mt Lebanon, as ‘miliaribus quattuor’.¹⁹ The Paris edition instead reads ‘.iii. miles’²⁰ while the *RHC* edition reads ‘trois-milles’.²¹ The initial manuscripts all read ‘.iiii. miles’, which matches the Latin. Another error occurs in Book 19.20, where William stated that ‘.cc. .lxxx. .vi.’²² years had passed between the reign of Muhammad and the rise of the Fatimid caliphate. The *RHC* edition²³ contains the correct number, but the Paris edition reads ‘.cc. et .iiii.xx. et .viii. anz’.²⁴ Again all the early manuscripts match the Latin. The translator was accurate in reproducing the numbers used by William, but natural variants in the copying of the text resulted in erroneous readings that found their way into later manuscripts, such as F45 and, subsequently, into printed editions.

It is clear that neither of the two printed editions of the *Eracles* are close to the original translation. Both contain numerous instances in which the French text departs from the Latin despite the fact that several manuscripts contain

17 WT, 13.16 line 64.

18 Paris, 13.16 vol. 1 p. 499; *RHC*, 13.16 p. 580.

19 WT, 21.9 (10) line 15.

20 Paris, 21.8 vol. 2 p. 376.

21 *RHC*, 21.10 p. 1021.

22 WT, 19.21 line 28.

23 *RHC*, 19.21 p. 916.

24 Paris, 19.20 vol. 2 p. 282.

readings that follow the Latin more closely. Both editions contain rubrics for all chapters. Again, rubrics are not found in the early manuscripts and were not likely to have been used in the original translation. The presence of rubrics, in fact, is rare, with only a few manuscripts containing any. Those do not have a complete set but contain them only for some chapters. It is clear that Paulin Paris copied the rubrics from the *RHC* edition, as the manuscripts he was using did not contain them. Paris's edition contains fewer divergences from the Latin than does the *RHC* edition, indicating that the manuscripts he was using contain readings closer to the original translation. However, his edition contains errors and further instances in which he deviated from his base manuscript and introduced readings from the *RHC* not found in his manuscript.

Dating the Translation

There is no direct evidence that points to a specific date for the translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*. None of the surviving manuscripts can be claimed as the 'original'. Of the oldest surviving manuscripts, Folda has dated F05 and F38 to 1240–50, while F03 and F04 also are likely to have been produced before 1250.¹ The translation certainly was made in France, since the majority of additions made by the translator relate to France, the Île de France in particular. Even allowing a few years after 1184 for William's *Historia* to make its journey to the West, we are left with a lengthy period of time within which the translation could have been made.

Franz Ost argued that the translation was made shortly after 1190.² In this he followed Paris, who had argued that, assuming that the translator was Bernard the Treasurer, he would have made the translation before composing his continuation.³ This attribution to Bernard as the translator and as the author of the continuations had developed in the eighteenth century and was widely believed.⁴ However, the identification of Bernard the Treasurer as the author of the Continuation is questionable, and that the translator and continuator were one and the same person can be discounted, as the translation was in circulation and a manuscript tradition had developed prior to the Continuation being added. The opinion that the translation was made shortly after 1190 seems no more than speculation. A date after 1190 is suggested in Book 14.1, where William notes, regarding Philip of Flanders, 'qui hodie Flandrensiū procurat comitatum'⁵ [who currently governs the county of Flanders], suggesting that Philip was governing the county of Flanders at the time William was writing. However, Philip died on 1 June 1191 at the siege of Acre during the Third Crusade.⁶ This is reflected in the translation by William's

1 Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 92–93; J. Folda, 'The Panorama of the Crusades, 1096 to 1218, as seen in Yates Thompson MS. 12 in the British Library', *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*, ed. G.H. Brown and L. Ehrsam Voigts, MRTS 384 (Tempe, 2010), p. 255.

2 Ost, p. 27.

3 Paris, vol. 1 p. vii.

4 Morgan, *Chronicle*, pp. 23–24.

5 WT, 14.1 lines 76–77.

6 'Itinerarium Peregrinorum', p. 217.

statement being given in the past tense, 'qui mout tint bien et vigueresement la conté de Flandres puis fu morz outré mer, quant li rois Phelippes i ala'⁷ [who governed well and vigorously the county of Flanders (and) then died beyond the sea, when King Philip went over there]. Though this shows that the translation was made after 1191, it does not mean that it was made immediately after that date. While there are no other additions to the translation that refer to datable events, there are further indications that the translation was made significantly later than 1191.

The currently accepted consensus, as given by John Pryor, is that the translation was made after the Fourth Crusade at a date sometime between 1204 and 1234, with a more likely terminus date of 1223 or a few years after. Pryor suggests that a *terminus post quem* of the Fourth Crusade's sack of Constantinople in 1204 is likely, because of a change of emphasis introduced by the translator concerning the military might of the Byzantine Empire. He points out that during the discussion of an agreement between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Byzantine Empire to invade Egypt in 1177, those in the Latin East were hesitant to break negotiations with the emperor, as they feared the military power of the empire. William described them as 'timentes idignationem eius, que nobis poterat esse nimis periculosa'⁸ [fearing his indignation, for he could be very dangerous to us]. Pryor noted that this phrase is lacking in the *Eracles* text.⁹ While the French text does not specifically state that those in the Kingdom of Jerusalem feared the Byzantine emperor, Manuel I Komnenos, it does say that the barons:

orent conseil entre'eus devant le Roi et penserent que grief chose seroit et domageuse de refuser cele grant aide l'Empereur, qui estoit toute preste et apareillie. Por ce fu de touz acordé que il atorneroient leur aferes et movroient por aler en Egypte, si com il avoient, grant piece avant, promis et afermé par les messages a l'Empereur.¹⁰

[they took counsel amongst themselves in the presence of the king and felt that it would be dangerous to refuse the aid of the emperor, since he was nearby and prepared for war. Because of this they all agreed that they would alter their plans and prepare to go into Egypt, just as they had a long time before promised and agreed to through messages with the emperor.]

7 Paris, 14.1 vol. 2 pp. 3–4.

8 WT, 21.16 (17) lines 10–11.

9 Pryor, p. 289.

10 Paris, 21.15 vol. 2 p. 386.

This passage clearly implies that the king and barons of the kingdom feared the consequences should they break an oath with the Byzantine emperor, who was already prepared for a military campaign. There is no indication that the translator no longer viewed the Byzantine Empire as a military power and, therefore, it does not necessarily follow that the translation was made after the Fourth Crusade.

Pryor also based the *terminus post quem* on the alteration of 'Balduinus de Ramis et Balianus, frater eius'¹¹ (Baldwin de Ramla and Balian, his brother] to 'Baudoin d'Athenes et Balian son fere'.¹² It should be noted here that this variant reading is found in the *RHC* edition and that the Paris edition gives a reading that matches the Latin: 'Baudoins de Rames et Baliens ses frères'.¹³ These names occur in a list of nobles present at the battle of Montgisart in 1177. While Pryor was careful to point out that this variation appears to be a mistake and that more research on the manuscript tradition is needed, he noted that this variant could only have been made following the establishment of the duchy of Athens by Othon de la Roche in 1205.¹⁴ Examination of the various manuscripts that preserve the readings closest to the Latin reveals that all contain a reading that matches the Latin text. The only manuscript that contains 'd'Athenes' is F45,¹⁵ while F45, which is dated to 1250–75, contains a number of errors and additional readings that are not found in any of the other manuscripts but do appear in the *RHC* edition. These variants would have to have been introduced by a later scribe and were not a part of the original translation. As a result, it is clear that the variant cannot be attributed to the translator of William's text and is instead an isolated reading introduced by a later copyist. Consequently, it cannot be said, on the basis of this reading, that the translation was made after the Fourth Crusade.

There are, however, other indications that the translation was made after 1204. In particular, there is the translator's interest in the Egyptian city of Damietta and apparent knowledge of the area. As discussed earlier, the translator was able to provide additional examples of the hardships faced by an army in the deserts of Egypt not delineated by William. The main example here is the replacement of 'porro Salahadinus, transcursum cum suis expeditionibus solitudine, quod iter cum multa difficultate vix diebus viginti confecerat'¹⁶ with 'Salehadins ot pasée la voie des deserz ou il et sa gent orent

11 WT, 21.21 (22) lines 25–26.

12 *RHC*, 21.22 p. 1042.

13 Paris, 21.20 vol. 2 p. 394.

14 Pryor, p. 288.

15 F45, fol. 206v.

16 WT, 22.15 (14) lines 38–40.

soffertes mout granz peines, porce que ausi sordent tempestes és sablons com en la mer'.¹⁷ Also, the translator was able to identify a food found by troops in the palm trees near Damietta by adding: 'un tendron que l'en apele le fromage qui assez est de bone saveur, et en ce est la vie de tout l'arbre'¹⁸ [a shoot that is called the *fromage*, which is very nourishing, and in this is all of the life of the tree]. These additions indicate knowledge of Egyptian conditions and, whether or not the translator had been to the East, they represent a received knowledge of the East, particularly the area around Damietta, not found in William's text.

Some of the glosses that William included in his text concerning Damietta are lacking in the French text. These omissions occur in particular when Damietta is associated with the phrase 'in finibus Egypti'. An example occurs in Book 22.15, where it is related that several Greek ships had been wrecked near Damietta during a storm. The phrase 'in finibus Egypti'¹⁹ is removed from the French text. This is similar to his treatment of Canterbury during the discussion of Thomas Becket, where the phrase 'in Anglia apud'.²⁰ Damietta is added when the translator discusses Egypt as a whole. For instance, when William related that Saladin was gathering troops from Alexandria and all of Egypt in 1182, the translator replaces 'ab Alexandri et universa Aegypto'²¹ with 'en Alixandre a Damietta et par toute Egypte'.²² Perhaps William's glosses have been omitted because the translator assumed such information would be known to his audience. In 1169 Damietta had been attacked by a joint Latin and Byzantine force which was repulsed by Saladin. Its position on the eastern Nile delta meant that any crusading force would have to pass close by if it wanted to attack Cairo, and Damietta could thus be seen as the gateway to Egypt. However, it was only with the Fifth Crusade, 1217–21, that Damietta would have come to public attention in the West. The preparations for this crusade began in 1215, with Innocent III seeking to organise what was essentially a church-led affair, but the forces were not expected to muster until 1217, when they would embark from Italy for the East. Emperor Frederick II had taken the cross at his coronation in 1215, but he was too preoccupied with affairs in Europe to be able to participate. Philip II was involved in war with England, as well as with the Albigenian Crusade, although many French nobles did take part in this crusade. The leaders included John of Brienne, the king of Jerusalem, and the masters

17 Paris, 22.13 vol. 2 p. 432.

18 Paris, 20.15 vol. 2 p. 332.

19 WT, 22.15 (14) line 2.

20 WT, 20.21 line 22.

21 WT, 22.18 (17) line 10.

22 Paris, 22.16 vol. 2 p. 439.

of the Military Orders. No one had sole command and, arguably, constant disputes between the leaders and the papal legate, Pelagius of Albano, eventually brought about the failure of the crusade. Acting upon the advice of barons from the Latin East, it was decided to attack Damietta in an attempt to strike at the centre of Ayyubid power before recapturing Jerusalem.²³

People in the Latin East had long favoured this plan of action. Jacques de Vitry, bishop of Acre and a prominent figure on the crusade, wrote to the pope that the leaders of the crusade believed that the flat, fertile terrain of Egypt and the presence of only three cities—Damietta, Cairo, and Alexandria—would make it easier to conquer than Jerusalem itself.²⁴ The crusade reached Damietta in May 1218 and began to besiege the city. The army suffered difficulties before the city, particularly from disease, but in August 1218 the Ayyubid sultan, al-Malik al-Adil, died. After an attempt by various emirs to depose his son, al-Malik al-Kamil, the new sultan abandoned the defence of Damietta in order to secure his position. From then on the only opposition that the crusading army faced were the remaining forces within Damietta itself. The city was finally captured in November 1219. However, Frankish control over Damietta was to be short-lived. In February 1221 al-Kamil returned to Egypt, having consolidated his control, and in September the crusaders were eventually forced to surrender Damietta. This completed the failure of the Fifth Crusade, which had appeared so promising after the capture of Damietta and the proposed peace terms in which the crusaders had been offered Jerusalem and most of the territories lost to Saladin a generation earlier in exchange for the city of Damietta.²⁵ The crusaders had refused that offer, and now the crusade had ended in failure. The translator's apparent interest in Damietta suggests that the translation was made after, or during, the Fifth Crusade, when Damietta came to prominence.

The proposal of a likely *terminus ante quem* of around 1223, as given by Pryor, is implied by the addition of the phrase 'de cui bontez se sent toute la Crestientez'²⁶ [of whose generosity the whole world knows] to the succession of Philip II Augustus of France after the death of his father Louis VII in 1180. This phrase, in the present tense, as well as the general praise of Philip throughout the text, would seem to indicate that the translation was made before Philip's death in July 1223. This phrase is present in all of the *Eracles* manuscripts

23 J. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 67–122.

24 Jacques de Vitry, IV.31–43 *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens (Leiden, 1960), p. 102.

25 Ibn al-Athir, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athir for the Crusading Period from 'al-Kamil fi'l-ta'rikh'*, vol. 3, trans. D.S. Richards (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 175–182.

26 Paris, 22.3 vol. 2 pp. 413–414.

and can be safely attributed to the translator. As discussed earlier, the translator is favourable towards Hugh *li Maine*, count of Vermandois, suggesting that he was working in the general area of the Île de France. As he recorded the death of other French nobles, it would seem that he would have included a reference to the death of Philip II, if indeed he was deceased at the time he was working. The translator had shown an interest in Philip II, as well as in the French monarchy in general. It would therefore seem that the translator was working during the lifetime of Philip II. It is unlikely that Philip had died and that the translator would have been unaware of his death, although it is possible his translation could have taken several months, if not longer, to complete.

This evidence, along with the interest shown in Damietta, leaves a small window in which the translation was most likely made: 1219–23. The translation, in other words, dates from the last few years of Philip II's reign. During and directly after the events of the Fifth Crusade it is likely that there was a great deal of interest in aiding the Latin East, particularly among crusade supporters in France who felt that the French nobility, and in particular their king who had previously been on crusade, had been neglecting affairs in the East. If the translation had been made prior to the failure of the Fifth Crusade, it could be seen as encouraging support. If the translation was made later, it would seem to have been a direct response to that failure. This dating of the translation of William of Tyre to the last few years of the reign of Philip II coincides with the date proposed in 1973 by Margaret Ruth Morgan, albeit without any clear justification, on the basis of unpublished work by Gouliden.²⁷ While the date cannot be pinned down precisely, it would seem to have been made in response to the Fifth Crusade and an upsurge in interest in the crusades and the Latin East which is shown by the production of other crusading literature, including the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, at about the same time.²⁸ While it is difficult to establish the translator's reason for producing this text, the timing of the translation, along with the continued emphasis on the role of knights from either the Île de France or other areas that had recently come under the control of the French monarchy, such as Boulogne, served as propaganda for a unification of these lands under Philip II, while at the same time responding to the continued interest in crusading.

²⁷ Morgan, *Chronicle*, p. 119.

²⁸ *Das Itinerarium Peregrinorum*, ed. H.E. Mayer (Stuttgart, 1962), pp. 105–106; 'Introduction', *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, trans. H.J. Nicolson (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 10–12.

Summary of the Alterations

In conclusion, the translator's omission of many passages of William of Tyre's Latin *Historia* relating to ecclesiastical and classical material would suggest that he was writing primarily for a lay audience. The translator himself, however, is likely to have been a cleric. Aside from his ability to make the translation accurately from Latin, he seems to have had a relation to the Augustinian canons. The translator would appear to have been located in France, most likely the Île de France or its surrounding area. This seems to be clear from the continued insistence upon the identity of those undertaking the crusade as being from the Kingdom of France, rather than the more general terms used by William. This French bias may also be seen in instances in which William's treatment of certain prominent figures has been altered in the translation, such as Hugh *li Maine* and Renaud de Châtillon. It would also seem that the translation was made late in the reign of Philip Augustus, although it may have been completed shortly after his death, and in the context of the Fifth Crusade. The alterations are found in all the early manuscripts that parallel the Latin most closely and would therefore appear to have been the work of the translator. However, there are a number of significant variants that were introduced into the manuscript tradition after the original translation. The remainder of this book will explore the development of the manuscript tradition for the *Eracles* text through an examination of sample chapters that an initial enquiry showed to contain significant variant readings.

PART 2

The Manuscripts



Introduction

An initial problem when confronting the *Eracles* text is the large number of manuscripts in which it has survived. Of the fifty-one pre-1500 extant manuscripts, most contain the complete text of the translation of William of Tyre. In order to produce a stemma, ideally, an analysis of the transcriptions in all these manuscripts would be employed, to determine the best reading of the text to be used as the base manuscript for any future critical edition. I have, instead, utilised transcripts of several sample chapters found in all of the manuscripts in order to establish a stemma, and in addition have compared the readings of the *RHC* and Paris editions.

There are two major lists of all extant manuscripts of the *Eracles* text. The first was based on the work of Mas Latr   and the editors of the *RHC* edition and was compiled by Paul Riant in 1881.¹ The second was produced by Jaroslav Folda in 1973, which brought the previous list up to date.² Both scholars sorted the manuscripts into categories using as criteria the dates at which the text ends. These differences in the terminal date arise due to a variety of continuations that were added to the translation of William of Tyre. This categorisation is, up to a point, useful when studying the continuations, but is of little use when studying the translation since this system does not take into account the fact that several of the manuscripts are placed in the wrong groups if organised in this fashion. An obvious example of a manuscript that appears to be misplaced is F01. It has been placed in the first group of manuscripts that end in 1184 because it does not contain a continuation; however, the latter part of the text is missing and in all likelihood once included a continuation. Quite possibly the manuscript was bound in two volumes and the second has been lost. Another example is F50, which begins the continuation with one distinctive recension only to change to a different one partway through the description of the events of 1187. Despite problems with the criteria, rearranging the listings would be no benefit, and so Folda's numbering, with an 'F' before each manuscript, will be maintained for reference. Some of the manuscripts have changed location since Riant's earlier work, notably the Firmin-Didot manuscripts, which are now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland. I will follow

¹ Riant, pp. 247–252, 716–717.

² Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 90–95.

Peter Edbury's³ lead in using the list provided by Folda, who brought shelf-marks up to date but whose general format was still based on Riant's work. The following, based on these previous lists, sets out those *Eracles* manuscripts that contain the Old French translation of William of Tyre. Manuscripts in square brackets have not been considered in this study.

Section I: No Continuation (All except F01 end where William of Tyre's Latin ends)

- F01 Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, 93 (England: late 13th century)
- F02 Paris, BnF, fr. 2627 (N. France: 15th century)
- F03 Paris, BnF, fr. 2632 (Latin East or France: 1st half of 13th century)
- F04 Paris, BnF, fr. 2826 (Latin East or France: 1st half of 13th century)
- F05 Paris, BnF, fr. 9081 (Paris: c.1245–48)
- F06 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1963 (Antioch: c.1260–68)

[F07 to F15 contain only fragments of the translation.]

Section II: Abbreviated Chronicles to 1232

[F16 to F29 do not contain the translation, consisting of other material, chiefly *La Chronique d'Ernoul and Bernard le Trésorier*, which formed the basis for the continuations added to William of Tyre's text.]

Section III: Continuations to 1232 (or truncated earlier as in the case of F30, F32, F34, F35, F41, F43, F49, and F51)

- F30 Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 651 (N. France: early 14th century)
- F31 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 137 (Paris: c.1295–1300)
- F32 Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, 112 (N. France: c.1270)
- F33 Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, 163 (N. France: 3rd quarter of 13th century)
- F34 Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 856 (N. France: c.1300)
- F35 Epinal, Bibliothèque Municipale, 45 (Paris: c.1295–1300)
- F36 Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, 85 (Artois: 3rd quarter of 15th century)

3 Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 69–105.

- F37 London, BL, Royal 15 E. 1 (Flanders: late 15th century)
- F38 London, BL, Henry Yates Thompson 12 (England: mid-13th century)
- F39 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5220 (N. France: 3rd quarter of 13th century)
- F40 Paris, Bibliothèque du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Memoires et Documents 230bis (S. France: 3rd quarter of 13th century)
- F41 Paris, BnF, fr. 67 (N. France: 2nd half of 13th century)
- F42 Paris, BnF, fr. 68 (Flanders: c.1450)
- F43 Paris, BnF, fr. 779 (N. France: c.1275)
- F44 Paris, BnF, fr. 2629 (Flanders: c.1460)
- F45 Paris, BnF, fr. 2630 (N. France: c.1250–75)
- F46 Paris, BnF, fr. 2754 (N. France: c.1300)
- F47 Paris, BnF, fr. 2824 (N. France: c.1300)
- F48 Paris, BnF, fr. 2827 (N. France: c.1250–75)
- F49 Paris, BnF, fr. 9085 (Acre: c.1277–80)
- F50 Paris, BnF, fr. 9086 (Acre: c.1255–60)
- F51 Paris, BnF, fr. 24208 (N. France: c.1250–75)

Section IV: The *Rothelin Continuation* to 1261 (F57 has the *Acre Continuation* to 1248 and the latter part of the *Rothelin* version for the period to 1261.)

- F52 Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 142 (Paris: c.1300 and c.1340)
- F53 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 9045 (Flanders: c.1462)
- F54 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 9492–3 (Paris: c.1291–95)
- F55 Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Palais des Arts 29 (Paris: c.1295–96)

[F56 is an abbreviated version of the French William of Tyre.]

- F57 Paris, BnF, fr. 2634 (Île de France: 1st quarter of 14th century)
- F58 Paris, BnF, fr. 2825 (Paris: early 14th century)

[F59 is an 18th-century copy of F60.]

- F60 Paris, BnF, fr. 9083 (Île de France: 2nd quarter of 14th century)
- F61 Paris, BnF, fr. 22495 (Paris: 1337)
- F62 Paris, BnF, fr. 22496–7 (Paris: c.1350)
- F63 Paris, BnF, fr. 24209 (Île de France: 3rd quarter of 14th century)
- F64 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. Suec. lat. 737 (Paris: early 14th century)

F65 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, L. I. 5 (N. France: 15th century)

[F66—Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, L. II. 17 (Île de France: 1st quarter of 14th century)]

Section V: The *Acre Continuation*, beyond 1232

[F67—Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 483 (Flanders: mid-15th century)]

[F68—Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, 25 (N. France: 1st half of 15th century)]

F69 Boulougne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 142 (Acre: c.1287)

F70 Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, Plu. LXI. 10 (Acre: c.1290, and Italy: 1st half of 14th century)

F71 St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia / Российская Национальная Библиотека (formerly M.E. Saltykov-Schchedrin State Public Library), fr. fo v. IV.5 (Acre: c.1280)

F72 Lyon, Bibliothèque de la Ville, 828 (Acre: c.1280)

F73 Paris, BnF, fr. 2628 (Acre: late 1250s/early 1260s and late 1270s)

F74 Paris, BnF, fr. 2631 (Lombardy: c.1291–95)

[F75 is an 18th-century copy of F77.]

[F76 is an 18th-century copy of the *Continuation* as published in 1729.]

F77 Paris, BnF, fr. 9082 (Rome: 1295)

F78 Paris, BnF, fr. 9084 (Acre: c.1286)

In the absence of the original translation, it is necessary to establish which of these surviving manuscripts appear to preserve a text closest to the original. Based on the assumption that those manuscripts that have readings and chapter divisions similar to the Latin of William of Tyre are likely to be closest to the original form of the French translation, of course, assuming that later scribes did not alter the French text, either purposefully or accidentally, to align it with the Latin.

As a starting point I began by building on Edbury's work on the French translation.⁴ Edbury's method consisted of comparing the first and last six words of every chapter in each manuscript and noting divergences in the positioning of chapter divisions, then, using this information, to establish the groundwork for a manuscript stemma. In doing so he was able to divide the manuscripts into two major groups, which he labelled α and β . Group α includes most of the

⁴ Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 69–105.

manuscripts that contain only the translation, the one exception being Fo6, as well as some other early manuscripts and those identified as having been copied in Acre. The manuscripts included in this group are: Fo1, Fo2, Fo3, Fo4, Fo5, F31, F35, F38, F41, F49, F50, F52, F57, F67, F68, F69, F70, F71, F72, F73, F74, F77, and F78. Of these, several were found to contain readings that are close to the Latin text, notably Fo5 and F38.⁵ I began my in-depth study by looking at Fo5, which appeared to contain early readings and does not include a continuation. It is also early, being dated to 1245–48. I also looked at F38 because, like Fo5, it seemed to contain early readings and a mid-thirteenth-century date. Another manuscript from this group, Fo2, despite being a fifteenth-century copy, contains similar readings to Fo5 and F38 and thus appears to represent an early version of the text. The final group α manuscript that I studied was F72, as it was used by the editors of the *RHC* edition and is one of the earlier Acre manuscripts. I also examined Fo6, the only group β manuscript to not contain a continuation. This manuscript is also fairly early, being dated to 1260–68. In addition, I looked at F58, because it is one of the manuscripts, formerly in the possession of Firmin-Didot, on which Paris based his edition.

The procedure for studying these selected manuscripts was to use microfilms and compare their readings line-by-line, word-by-word, with the Paulin Paris edition of the French text. After an analysis of these manuscripts and the identification of chapters selected for detailed consideration I broadened my research to include all the other manuscripts, with only a few exceptions. This procedure of microfilm consultation worked for the majority of manuscripts, the exception being F50, which I was able to consult in person. The only manuscript that was not considered is F66, a fourteenth-century manuscript, housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Turin. It was damaged in a fire and the library declined to microfilm it. Morgan saw it and tentatively linked it to F60, F61, and F63 on the basis of its continuation.⁶ Two other manuscripts left out of consideration are F67 and F68, both fifteenth-century manuscripts shown to have been derived directly from F69.⁷

Select passages from all of the manuscripts under consideration have been transcribed. Five passages, chosen because of clear differences between manuscripts and also between the published editions and those manuscripts deemed to be closest to the original Latin. In each case these differences comprised material that was not present in the original Latin. While the sample

5 Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 71–80.

6 M.R. Morgan, 'The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre', *Outremer: Studies in the History of the Crusading Kingdom of Jerusalem*, ed. B.Z. Kedar, H.E. Mayer, and R.C. Smail (Jerusalem, 1982), p. 246.

7 Edbury, 'Translation', p. 93.

chapters chosen may not always be indicative of the entire text, they do provide a representative view and allow for a provisional stemma.

Chapters were selected from different points in the text based on comparisons of the published editions with the sample manuscripts I looked at in depth. Five chapters show significant variations within the manuscript tradition. Passages were selected that would provide clues to the relationships between the manuscripts and would help in constructing a stemma.

The first sample comes from Book 7, Chapter 22. This chapter tells of the arrival of the First Crusade at Sidon and the crusaders' skirmishes with the citizens before they proceeded to Sarepta; it then gives a short description of the gardens of Tyre before describing the crusaders' journey to Acre and Ramla. It was chosen primarily because of a reference made to the Prophet Elijah in relation to Sarepta. William commented, as the army passes the city, 'viri dei Helye nutricia'⁸ [where Elijah, the man of God, was nursed]. In Paris's edition, the French text reads 'ou Elyes li profetes fu'⁹ [where the prophet Elijah was], whereas the *RHC* edition reads 'où Ehelyes li profetes fu nez'¹⁰ [where the prophet Elijah was born]. William's allusion is to 1 Kings 17:9–10, where Elijah is provided with food and water by a widow in Sarepta after being commanded to go to the city. Neither of the two different readings in the French translates the Latin accurately. William nor the Bible indicates that Elijah had been born in Sarepta. The first few manuscripts that I compared with the printed editions matched the reading in Paris's edition, 'ou Elyes li profetes fu'. This chapter was chosen in the hope that some manuscript might contain a reading closer to the Latin 'nutricia'.

The second sample is from Book 11, Chapter 14, which deals with the arrival of a Norwegian fleet of crusaders, under Sigurd I Magnusson, and the capture of Sidon by Baldwin I in 1110 with Sigurd's aid. William added to Baldwin's army marching to besiege Acre, 'classis quoque nichilominus a portu Acconensi egressa illuc directe properaverat, ita ut pene eodem momento uterque exercitus ante urbem conveniret'¹¹ [Nevertheless, the fleet hastened from the port of Acre directly towards that place (Sidon), so that they arrived before the city at the same time as the army]. This is altered in both the Paris and *RHC* editions to read 'Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d'Acre por venir aidier a leur genz de Saiete si que près que tuit ensemble vindrent cil dui ost, celé part'¹² [A great fleet of Turks had left from the city of Acre in order to come to

8 WT, 7.22 lines 25–26; *RHC* reads 'viri Dei Heliae nutritia' 7.22 p. 311.

9 Paris, 7.22 vol. 1 p. 256.

10 *RHC*, 7.22 p. 312.

11 WT, 11.14 lines 26–28; *RHC*, 11.14 p. 477.

12 Paris, 11.14 vol. 1 p. 403; *RHC*, 11.14 p. 477.

the aid of their men in Sidon, so that there gathered these two hosts in the region]. Paris commented 'Cette phrase est omise dans plusieurs bons manuscrits. Ici elle donne une traduction opposée au sens, La ville d'Acre était déjà au pouvoir des Chrétiens, et les «navies» qu'elle envoya vers Saiete arrivaient en même temps que l'ost de Baudouin. *Classis a portu Acconensi egressa illuc directe properaverat, ita ut, pene eodem momento, uterque exercitus ante urbem conveniret*'¹³ [This phrase is omitted in most of the better manuscripts. Here it gives a translation that does not make sense, the city of Acre was still controlled by the Christians and the ships that were sent towards Sidon arrived at the same time as the army of Baldwin. Nevertheless, the fleet hastened from the port of Acre directly towards that place (Sidon), so that they arrived before the city at the same time as the army]. This is another instance in which William's Latin appears to have been imperfectly translated. Paris's comment that this phrase is missing in most of the best manuscripts made it potentially important in the attempt to construct a stemma. Fo6, in addition, gives a different reading to both editions: 'une granz navie restoit meue d'escalone por venire aidier a leur gent de saete'¹⁴ The multiple variants of this passage to be found within the manuscripts can help to determine the relationships of the manuscripts.

The third sample is Book 15, Chapter 22. This chapter relates the death of Emperor John II Komennos in a hunting accident in 1143 in the principality of Antioch. While out hunting, a boar rushes out before the emperor, who draws his bow but shoots himself in the hand with a poisoned arrow. Upon realising his predicament, John returns to his tent to seek the aid of his doctors.¹⁵ The Paris and *RHC* editions both name the doctors of the emperor: 'dans Hues de Pierfont, dans Gautiers et tant des autres que je ne vos sai nomer'.¹⁶ This additional information is not found in those manuscripts that appear closer to the Latin, notably Fo5 and F38. However, it is found in Fo6. This passage might therefore seem to represent a major division in the manuscript tradition. This addition is of particular importance because these doctors are not named in any other text and appear to be unknown to historians; they are not included in Piers Mitchell's list of doctors and medical practitioners involved in the Crusades and the Latin East.¹⁷ The appearance of these personages within the

13 Paris, vol. 1 p. 403, n. 6.

14 Fo6, fol. 106v.

15 WT, 15.22 line 14.

16 Paris, 15.22 vol. 2 p. 80; *RHC*, 15.22 p. 695.

17 P. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge 2004), pp. 11–45.

Eracles manuscript tradition may shed some light on their possible backgrounds and the veracity of the addition. The *RHC* edition also includes additional readings to be found neither in the Paris edition nor in the manuscripts closest to the Latin. These additions are more stylistic in nature, such as adding that it would bring shame to the empire if the emperor were to rule with only one hand, the other being amputated to remove the poison of the arrow, 'n'il ne seroit pas resons à lui ne au pueple qu'il a à gouverner, quar trop a afere'¹⁸ [it did not seem right nor reasonable to him nor to the people that he should govern in such a condition]. A variant of this reading, 'meesmemant qui ne seroit pas droiz ne ressons a lui ne au pueple qu'il avoit agouverner trop avoit afere',¹⁹ is found in Fo6. Once again we have an instance in which there are variant readings that hold potential for establishing the manuscript tradition.

The fourth sample chapter is Book 20, Chapter 11 in the Paris edition but Chapter 12 in the *RHC* edition and Huygens's edition of the Latin text. This chapter is concerned with King Amaury sending messengers in 1169 to the Western princes to request aid after the rise of Saladin in Egypt. Following an initial failed crossing by the patriarch of Jerusalem, Archbishop Frederick of Tyre, and Bishop John of Banyas arrive in Paris, where the bishop of Banyas dies. The Paris edition adds 'et fut enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor, à senestre, si com l'en entre vers le cuer'²⁰ [he was buried in the church of St Victor, to the left just as one enters towards the choir]. The *RHC* includes this additional information about his burial place at St Victor but also lists 'Huitace, li déans de Charmentré' alongside Bishop John of Banyas as dying in Paris; it also reads 'murent' and 'furent enterrez'.²¹ This alternative reading in the *RHC* edition implies that both the bishop of Banyas and this dean of Charmentré died at the same time and were both buried on the left of the choir in the Abbey of St Victor. While the additional information regarding the site of the burial is found in Fo5, Fo6, and F38, the addition regarding the dean of Charmentré was not found in any of the first few manuscripts studied. This chapter will be studied in order to determine the entry of this information into the manuscript tradition. This is the same Huitace, the dean of Charmentré, whom Ost and Pryor identified as a possible associate of the translator.²²

The fifth chapter to be studied also refers to Huitace the dean of Charmentré. This is Book 22, Chapter 6 in the Paris edition and Chapter 7 in the *RHC* which refers to the crimes committed in 1181 to the Church by Bohemond III, prince

18 *RHC*, 15.22 p. 694.

19 Fo6, fol. 158r.

20 Paris, 20.11 vol. 2 p. 327.

21 *RHC*, 20.12 p. 961.

22 Ost, p. 14; Pryor, p. 280.

of Antioch, and his dissolute lifestyle, which led to his excommunication, with a group of barons and prelates sent from Jerusalem to persuade him to mend his ways. At the end of the list of ecclesiastics on the expedition, both the Paris and *RHC* editions add 'et Huitace li déans de Charmentré'.²³ This additional reading is, like the mention of Huitace in Book 20, Chapter 11, not found in any of the manuscripts originally consulted. A comprehensive study needs to be made of the manuscripts in order to determine where the reference to the dean of Charmentré should be placed in the manuscript tradition.

In addition to these five sample chapters, this study will also look at the first few lines from the beginning of Book 12, Chapter 1. The chapter deals with the election of Baldwin du Bourq as King Baldwin II of Jerusalem in 1118. A large section has been added to the beginning of the chapter, describing how Xerxes, king of Persia, refused to listen to his barons' advice to not go to war with Greece. This is contrasted with Baldwin's eagerness for counsel and aid in order to rule the kingdom properly. This variant occurs within the first sentence, which introduces Xerxes, and can also be found in the published editions. The Paris edition reads 'Xerxés fu uns poissanz rois de la terre qui a non Aise, et avoit mout grant contenz au roiaume de Grece'²⁴ [Xerxes was a powerful king from the land which is called Asia and had many great conflicts with the Kingdom of Greece]. In contrast, the *RHC* edition reads 'Xerxés fu uns puis sanz rois de la terre qui a non Aise, et avoit mout grant contenz à la terre d'Egypte'.²⁵ Fo5 and F38 agree with the Paris edition, while Fo6 agrees with the *RHC* edition. Meanwhile, F72 contains a third reading: 'Xerses fu un puissant roi de la terre qui a anon Aise et avoit grant contents au reiaume de France et a celui de Gresse'.²⁶ These distinctions within the manuscript tradition contribute to establishing a stemma for the *Eracles* text.

Throughout the text, the large majority of differences between the Latin and French can be found in what are believed to be those manuscripts closest to the Latin text and are therefore more likely to be closer to the original text of the translation. These readings are likely to be found in most of the selected manuscripts, and when they are lacking it is possible that they have been lost during the copying process. However, there are a number of instances where certain readings are not found in either the Latin or the early French manuscripts, variations that would seem to have been added later into the manuscript tradition.

²³ Paris, 22.6 vol. 2 p. 418; *RHC*, 22.7 p. 1075.

²⁴ Paris, 12.1 vol. 1 p. 432.

²⁵ *RHC*, 12.1 p. 692.

²⁶ F72, fol. 123v.

The Manuscript Tradition

Some significant readings allowed for the establishment of two very broad initial groupings within the manuscript tradition. This division became apparent by the additional readings found in Book 15.22, which deals with the death of the emperor John II Komnenos, which is supported by readings found in the sample chapters. It is also supported by Edbury's chapter divisions of the *Eracles* text, where he divided the manuscripts into two groupings: α and β .¹ The group α manuscripts do not contain the additional readings in Book 15.22, while those in group β do. I will use these designations for the two main groups. Any attempt to include the variant readings from all of the manuscripts within a single apparatus would be unwieldy and therefore I have divided the manuscripts into smaller groups.

These divisions are consistent with the group α manuscripts, as they can be divided into those manuscripts produced in the West and those produced in the East, or derived from those (e.g., F74 and F77). The Western manuscripts will continue to be labelled group α , consisting of the following manuscripts: F01, F02, F03, F04, F05, F31, F35, F38, F41, and F52. Some readings unique to the Eastern manuscripts signal a separation between these groups. These manuscripts will be labelled group λ . The break seems to coincide with the text having been taken from the West, where the translation was made, to the East. The earliest Eastern manuscripts appear to be F50 and F73, which have been dated on art historical grounds to c.1255–60, and so are early manuscripts.² The *Eracles* text must therefore have been taken to the East shortly after the *Ernoul-Bernard* continuation was added to the text in the 1230s.³ The translation clearly became popular and spread from France to England and to the Latin East within thirty years of the translation being produced.⁴ These manuscripts can also be divided into two groups based on distinctive readings. The first group, λ_1 , comprises F50, F57, F70, F72, F73, and F77. The λ_2 group of manuscripts comprises F49, F67, F68, F69, F71, F74, and F78. This division is generally

1 Edbury, 'Translation', pp. 75–94.

2 Folda, 'Handlist', pp. 94–95.

3 Edbury, 'Continuations', p. 108.

4 Edbury, 'Translation', p. 86: Marsilio Zorzi copied a portion of the text from a related manuscript in the mid-1240s.

consistent. However, in Chapter, 20.11, F74, dated to 1291–95, appears to be closer to the λ_1 group. While this creates a problem in dividing the manuscripts in this manner, the majority of readings imply two distinct traditions. The fact that F74 appears to exhibit elements of both groups, but only for portions of the text of both the translation and the continuations, implies that exemplars were exchanged at some point in the transmission of this manuscript. This is one of the later manuscripts from this group, with only F57 given the later date of the first quarter of the fourteenth century. Both F67 and F68 are fifteenth-century manuscripts, but because they derive directly from F69 they are not being considered in this study. Both branches of these λ manuscripts appear to have been produced in the East, Acre in particular, but some made their way to the West, where they were copied. The fact that the Eastern manuscripts from group λ have been attributed to the Acre scriptorium implies that the production of both subgroups were in proximity to each other, and it would have been easy for exemplars to be swapped, either within the scriptorium or during their hurried removal to Italy.⁵

The group β manuscripts are much more numerous and, like group α , are of Western origin, with the possible exception of Fo6. They appear to represent a manuscript tradition that had branched off from the main α group before the continuations were added. Manuscript Fo6, which does not contain a continuation, is dated c.1260–68 while F51, which does, is dated c.1250–75. These groups appear to have been forming simultaneously, with the β group characterised by the additional material in Book 15.22 along with the alternative reading of ‘Egypte’ in Book 12.1 and the lack of background material regarding Sidon in Book 11.14. There are no major divisions that would allow an easy grouping of the manuscripts. Instead of a direct linear relationship, these manuscripts have a more complex relationship. Group β consists of the following manuscripts: Fo6, F30, F32, F33, F34, F36, F37, F39, F40, F42, F43, F44, F45, F46, F47, F48, F51, F53, F54, F55, F58, F60, F61, F62, F63, F64, and F65. It was more practical, in order to produce a stemma, to break this group into three smaller subgroups, as being easier to compare the variants from a smaller number of manuscripts. The difficulty of comparing all the manuscripts is compounded by the fact that several of the later manuscripts, notably F36 and F44, contain numerous variants that have been reworked and abridged.

5 The existence of the Acre Scriptorium has been questioned by Jens Wollesen in his posthumously published *Acre and Cyprus: A new Approach to Crusader Painting around 1300* (Berlin, 2013). Despite uncertainties over the exact provenance of these manuscripts they are certainly textually related.

The manuscripts in β_3 (Fo6, F32, F45 F58, F61, and F65) contain unique additional readings that might indicate major divisions in the manuscript stemma. Manuscripts F61 and F65 are close to each other, but all these manuscripts contain distinctive readings. The rest of the manuscripts from group β were divided into β_1 and β_2 , designed simply to aid the editing process. β_1 comprised: F30, F33, F34, F36, F37, F39, F40, F42, F43, F44 and F46. β_2 comprised: F47, F48, F51, F53, F54, F55, F58, F60, F62, F63, and F64. The major variations and abridgements found in the fifteenth-century manuscripts were left out of the analysis, as not useful for the discussion of the development of the manuscript stemma, particularly manuscripts F36 and F44. A full apparatus showing all of the variants is included in the appendix. Although the β group manuscripts do exhibit a variety of alternative subgroups, for instance F60, F61, F62, and F65 share a number of variant readings, as do F53 and F64, they do not show a clear division from the rest of the β manuscripts. These variant readings are not always consistent. There may have been a certain amount of cross-influence among the manuscripts due to having been produced in a single scriptorium in which several loose bound copies may have been interchanged.

In their preface, the *RHC* editors state that they used several manuscripts of the *Eracles* text that were in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, formerly the Bibliothèque royal. It would appear that they made particular use of the manuscript now designated F45 which the editors identified as MS fr. 8314/6, but, due to various mutilations to that text, they also used Fo4, F48, and F77.⁶ Each of these four manuscripts belongs in a separate group in my classification. However, F45, despite being a thirteenth-century product, contains unique and erroneous readings and cannot be considered textually close to the original translation. Paul Riant mistakenly identified Fo2, with the classmark MS fr. 8314, as the base manuscript for the *RHC* editors.⁷ This has led to confusion in recent scholarship with Fo2, a late manuscript but clearly derived from an exemplar containing a very early form of the translation, still being identified as the *RHC* base manuscript.⁸ Had the *RHC* editors actually used Fo2, we would possess a far more reliable edition. There is evidence that the *RHC* editors used other manuscripts than those listed in their introduction. For instance,

6 'Verborum recensionem constituimus, secuti codicem in bibliotheca regia 8314/6 signatum. Hic autem codex seculi XIIIⁱ, accurata quadem solertia, ut visum est, exaratus fuit; partes obscuras aut mutilas, trium adjumento aliorum, 8404, 8409/5.5, 104 (Suppl. Franc.), quibus in biblioteca regia praestantiores nulli, dilucidatas aut reffectas damus', *RHC*, Preface, p. xxvi; cf. Riant, 'Inventaire', and Folda, 'Handlist' for modern classmarks.

7 Riant, p. 248.

8 Edbury, 'Translation', p. 72.

the edition includes a unique variant found only in F64. It seems certain that the *RHC* edition was based largely on F45 with corrections drawn from other manuscripts when the mistakes in F45 were obvious or where the text was missing. One manuscript perhaps used to make corrections appears to have been F64, with the distinctive variant replacing 'regné' with 'conroi armé' in Book 11.14. Manuscript F77 was likely used as well, indicated by a variant reading in Book 7.22, found in only five manuscripts, in which the word 'né' is added to 'Ou Helies li profetes fu' in a reference to 1 Kings, the others being F41, F44, F70, and F72. This listing contains a manuscript from each of the α , β , and λ groups. A sixth manuscript, F36, reads 'natis' and likely stems from a 'né' exemplar with a more Latinized form of the word being introduced in this fifteenth-century manuscript. While this variant may have derived from one of these other manuscripts, the fact that the *RHC* editors stated that they had used F77, and that later it was used for the edition of the continuations, makes it likely that the addition of this word came from F77, though its presence in other manuscripts would have encouraged them to include the variant in their edition. F77 was well known as a decorated manuscript that had been used by the Maurists and Francois Guizot in compiling general histories of France.⁹ The editors' edition is certainly based on the β tradition and includes the various additions from this group, while lacking the distinctive material that is in the majority of the α and λ group manuscripts and also in the Latin text, indicating that the β manuscripts are the farthest removed from the original translation.

Paulin Paris stated that he used two manuscripts that were in the possession of Ambroise Firmin-Didot (both now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore), F31 and F52,¹⁰ as well as manuscripts in public libraries. These both are α group manuscripts, and Paris's text generally follows this group. However, he also referred in his footnotes to various readings that are found in F58, a β manuscript, and to alternative readings from the *RHC* edition. It is striking that Paris added additional text from the *RHC* edition, including material unique to F45, thus managing to corrupt the arguably preferable reading found in the manuscripts he was using. In this way, Paris's edition became a pastiche of the Firmin-Didot manuscripts and the *RHC* edition. F31 and F52, however, also contain several variants and mistakes, with the result that Paris's edition contains numerous flaws. My research finds that F38 appears to contain a reading closest to the original translation, as well as a reading closest to the *Ernoul-Bernard* manuscripts used to provide a continuation to William of Tyre's text.¹¹ As such,

9 Paris, vol. 1 pp. vii-i.

10 Paris, vol. 1 p. xvi.

11 Edbury, 'Continuations', p. 109.

it will constitute a base manuscript, in conjunction, however, with F02 in an attempt to correct mistakes that appear in both manuscripts for the sample chapters. Chapter 15.22 creates a problem due to the large amount of additional material found in the β manuscripts. For the sake of convenience, two versions of this chapter will be used: one giving the version found in the α group, and the other from the β group text. The differences between the two groups will be highlighted in bold lettering, with only the variants within the groups being placed in the apparatus. None of the β group manuscripts stands out as being preferable, since there are numerous variants within the manuscripts, but F39 appears to have the fewest mistakes and to be closest to the α group. The majority of variants in F39 are shared by all of the β group manuscripts, with relatively few unique variants. Within the sample chapters, certain words and phrases have been highlighted. These are the places in which the Paris edition contains a different reading to that found in my base manuscript. Most of these variants belong to either later developments within the manuscripts used by Paris or interpolations into his edition from the *RHC* edition, which do not agree with the original text of the translation. One of these variants, the correction of 'Mores' to 'Molins' in Book 22.6, is not supported by any known manuscript and appears to have been editorial.

Book 7 Chapter 22

The first chapter to be studied is Book 7, Chapter 22. The procedure will be to include an edition of the chosen text with apparatus, followed by a discussion of the variants. Due to the large number of variants, only those that appear in multiple manuscripts or are of particular significance will be included. Many of those variants that are not dealt with here are instances of an article missing in a single manuscript or minor scribal variations that are of no assistance in determining the stemma. Fifteenth-century manuscripts, F36 and F44 in particular, are heavily abridged and lack large amounts of text and have been omitted from the apparatus. A version of the sample chapters with a full apparatus detailing all variants is included as an appendix.

Using F02 and F38 as the Base Manuscripts

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
F01 80r	F50 88r-v	F49 76v-77r	F06 67r-v	F47 44r
F02 49v-50r	F57 75r	F69 69r-v	F30 52r-v	F48 54v
F03 48r	F70 78v	F71 MS mutilated	F32 50v-51r	F51 54v
F04 35v-36r	F72 71r	F74 93v-94r	F33 67v-68r	F53 78v-79r
F05 74v-75r	F73 61r	F78 87r-v	F34 54v	F54 86v-87r
F31 70v-71r	F77 92r-v		F36 69r-v	F55 27v
F35 59r-v			F37 104v-105r	F58 59r
F38 39v			F39 138	F60 69r
F41 129v			F40 47v-48r	F61 63r
F52 59v-60r			F42 96r	F62 MS 22496 73r
			F43 62v	F63 72v
			F44 93r-v	F64 74r
			F45 61v-62r	F65 110v-111r
			F46 MS mutilated	

Au¹ tiers jour vindrent devant la cité de Baruth; sur un flum qui queurt² devant se logierent.³ Li bailli de la ville leur donna grant loyer⁴ et leur fist venir⁵ assez⁶ viandes⁷ a⁸ bon marchie⁹ pour espargnier les arbres et les blese¹⁰ des terres. L'endemain¹¹ vindrent a la cité¹² de¹³ Saiette. La se logierent sur un flun ou il tornerent¹⁴ assez pres de illec. Cil¹⁵ qui gardoit¹⁶ la cité ne leur voust onques faire bonté¹⁷ nulle.¹⁸ Je ne sai en quoi il se fioit¹⁹ mais il²⁰ envia de sa gent assez²¹ hors²² pour faire dommage a²³ l'ost.²⁴ Ilz commencierent a hardoyer et a²⁵ atainer²⁶ chevaliers²⁷ qui pres

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- 1 Au] Le F37 F44; et au F50 F57 F73.
2 queurt] cort i qui F50; court iluec F57 F73 F77.
3 sur un flum qui queurt devant se logierent] et se logierent sur ung flum qui court devant F36 F37 F42.
4 loyer] dons F61 F65.
5 fist venir] envia F61 F65.
6 assez] Fo1 Fo4 F49 F74 F78 *lack*; largement F37 F42.
7 assez viandes] viandes asses F30 F34.
8 a] et a F03 Fo6 F31 F36 F37 F44 F45 F48 F62 F69 F73 F78.
9 marchie] marchie et asses lor en dona F77.
10 blese] fruis F70 F72; biens F37 F47 F63.
11 L'endemain] et l'endemain F43 F45 F57.
12 a la cité] Fo5 *lacks*.
13 la cité de] F50 F73 F77 *lack*.
14 ou il tornerent] que il troverent Fo1 F50 F53 F54 F57 F60 F72 F73 F77; que il tornerent Fo2 F36 F40 F42 F55 F58 F64; ou il troverent F30 F31 F35 F49 F69 F74 F78; qui cort F43 F45; courante F44; ou cort F51.
15 Cil] Le capitaine F45.
16 Cil qui gardoit] Le Cappitaine de F44.
17 faire bonté] bonté fere Fo4.
18 faire bonté nulle] firent nulle bonté F34; faire nulle cutoisie F36; faire bonté F50 F77; bonte faire F57 F73; faire nulle bonté F37 F42 F69 F70 F74 F78.
19 Je ne sai...fioit] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*.
20 mais il] ainz F57 F73 F77.
21 de sa gent assez] assez de sa gent Fo5 Fo6 F30 F31 F35 F35 F50 F57 F73 F77; beaucoup de sa gent F42; assez] F37 F43 F44 F45 F51 *lack*.
22 hors] F30 F37 F62 F73 *lack*.
23 a] en Fo6 F32 F33 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F58 F54 F63 F64; a ceulz de F60 F62.
24 l'ost] nostre ost F50 F57 F70 F73; noz F61; noz gens F65; nostre gent et a nostre ost F77.
25 a] F03 F35 *lack*; Ilz commencierent a hardoyer et a] et pour F37 F42.
26 atainer] atarir Fo5; trainer F31; atainer aucune F37 F42; atraire F50 F77 F69 F74 F78; traier F73.
27 chevaliers] a ceus F50 F57 F73 F77.

estoiēnt²⁸ logié²⁹ tant que cilz ne le porent plus³⁰ souffrir³¹ ains monterent es³² chevaus et leur corurent³³ sus. Ne³⁴ sai quanz en occistrent.³⁵ Li³⁶ autre s'en foinrent en la cité ne³⁷ n'orent puis³⁸ talent de noz gens atainer³⁹; si⁴⁰ que toute celle nuit se reposèrent li nostre⁴¹ mout⁴² en pais. Au matin pour reposer⁴³ la menue gent ne se murent⁴⁴ de illec ains envoierent fourriers⁴⁵ par les villes entor et gens armées qui⁴⁶ les gardassent.⁴⁷ Cil apporterent⁴⁸ vitailles⁴⁹ a⁵⁰ hommes et a chevaus,⁵¹ a⁵² mout grant plenté.⁵³ Bestes⁵⁴ amenerent⁵⁵ assez⁵⁶ grans et petites⁵⁷ et s'en

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- 28 estoient] de eus estoient λ2 F77.
 29 logié] dans logier F57 F73; herbeges F69 F74 F78.
 30 plus] F01 F52 *lack*.
 31 tant que cilz ne le porent plus souffrir] tellement que ceus ne se peure plus endurer F37 F42.
 32 es] en leur F06 F32 F39 F40 F43 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F62 F63 F70 F72; sor leur F45 F47 F53 F61 F64 F65; auz leur F48.
 33 corurent] coururent vigoureusement F37 F42.
 34 sus. Ne] et ne F50 F57 F73.
 35 Ne sai quanz en occistrent] et en ocisent ne sai quans F31 F35; Ilz en occirent je ne say quanz F37 F42.
 36 Li] et li F36 F37 F42 F50 F57.
 37 cité ne] cité qui puis ne F50 F57 F73 F77; cité et ne F49 F69 F74 F78.
 38 puis] F50 F73 *lack*.
 39 atainer] trainer F31.
 40 si] tellement F37 F42.
 41 li nostre] F31 F35 *lack*; se reposèrent li nostre] nos gens se resposèrent F37 F42.
 42 mout] tout F45 F51 F49 F57.
 43 reposer] reposer et raffreschir F37 F42.
 44 murent] partirent une F37 F42.
 45 fourriers] en fourrage F37 F42.
 46 qui] por F34 F61 F65.
 47 gens armées qui les gardassent] gens qui les gardassent armes F70; gardassent] garder F61 F65.
 48 apporterent] amenerent F77.
 49 vitailles] viandes F31 F35 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 50 a] et F34 F49 F50.
 51 chevaus] femmes F61 F65.
 52 a] F01 F04 F05 F31 F32 F33 F37 F38 F39 F40 F41 F42 F55 F58 F60 F64 F69 F73 F78 *lack*; et F70 F72.
 53 plenté] quantité F37 F42.
 54 bestes] et bestes F50 F57 F73 F77; de bestes F32 F37 F39 F40 F42 F47 F48 F49 F53 F54 F55 F58 F61 F62 F65 F69 F70 F72.
 55 amenerent] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*.
 56 assez] assez et F57; assez en i ot de F58 F64.
 57 assez grans et petites] et granz presanz F43 F45 F51.

revindrent tuit ensamble⁵⁸ sans rien perdre⁵⁹ fors un seul⁶⁰ chevalier qui avoit nom Gautier de Ver.⁶¹ Cil⁶² ala espoir⁶³ trop⁶⁴ avant mais⁶⁵ il ne revint mie⁶⁶ ne oncques puis⁶⁷ ne sot l'en⁶⁸ que il devint; mout en furent tuit⁶⁹ courroucié en l'ost.⁷⁰ Le jour apres passerent par mout aspre voie et descendirent apres⁷¹ par uns destroit⁷² es plains. A destre laisserent celle ancienne cité⁷³ qui a non Sarepte⁷⁴ ou Helies li profetes fu.⁷⁵ Puis passerent une eue qui queurt entre Sur et Saiete.⁷⁶ Tant alerent⁷⁷ que il vindrent a cele noble⁷⁸ cité de Sur. La⁷⁹ se logierent devant⁸⁰ la tresnoble⁸¹ fontaine,⁸² qui si est renommée, qui est fontaine⁸³ des cortiz et puiz des eues vivanz⁸⁴ si com dit l'escripture. Es jardins mout delitables furent une nuit.⁸⁵ Quant⁸⁶

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- 58 grans et petites...ensamble] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 F78 *lack*.
 59 perdre] prendre F31 F35.
 60 tuit ensamble sans rien perdre fors un seul] sans riens predre tous enssamble si non tant seullement uns F37; tous enseble sans rien perdre se non ung chevalier tant seulement F42; seul] F49 F74 *lack*.
 61 Ver] nevers F69 F74 F78.
 62 cil] et cil F57 F73 F77.
 63 espoir] par sa baillance F37 F42; un poi F50 F57 F73 F77.
 64 espoir trop] si F30 F36.
 65 mais] par quoi F50 F57 F73 F77.
 66 mie] pas F60 F61 F62 F63.
 67 mais il ne revint mie ne oncques puis] F30 F36 *lack*.
 68 l'en] hom F50 F57 F73 F74 F78.
 69 tuit] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*.
 70 en l'ost] F69 F74 F78 *lack*.
 71 et descendirent apres] F43 F45 F51 *lack*.
 72 destroit] destroit leus a destre F43 F45; destroiz a destre F51.
 73 A destre laisserent celle ancienne cité] a cele cite lessierent a senestre F45.
 74 Sarepte] Sarsent F49 F50 F57 F69 F70 F73 F74 F77.
 75 fu] fu né F41 F44 F62 F70 F72 F77; fu natis F36; fu envoyé et F57 F73.
 76 Saiete] Sarphent F50; Sarsent F57 F73.
 77 Tant alerent] cheminierent F37; cheminerent avant F42.
 78 cele noble] la noble F50 F57 F73 F77.
 79 La] et la F50 F57 F73.
 80 devant] delez F37 F42.
 81 tresnoble] noble Fo6 F30 F37 F42; haute F50 F73 F77; eité terre noble F69 F78.
 82 fontaine] cité F43 F45 F51 F60; cité fontainne F61 F62 F63 F65; fontainne F64.
 83 qui si est renommée qui est fontaine] β F70 F72 *lack*.
 84 vivanz] F43 F45 F51 F62 *lack*; coranz F58 F64.
 85 qui est fontaine...nuit] et si courant la ou il a si richez jardinz si comme dist l'escripture. En celui lieu si delitable furent une nuit F50 F57 F73 F77.
 86 Quant] et que F30; Et quant F31.

il fu adjourné il⁸⁷ se mistrent⁸⁸ a la voie.⁸⁹ Il⁹⁰ passerent uns destroiz mout perilleus qui sunt⁹¹ entre les monteignes et la mer.⁹² Il⁹³ descendirent es plains de la cite d'Acre. Iluecques⁹⁴ delez⁹⁵ la cité,⁹⁶ sur une eue corant,⁹⁷ tendirent leur paveillons.

[On the third day they arrived before the city of Beirut and lodged by a river which flowed before it. The bailiff of the town gave them large payments and brought enough supplies to establish a market in order to save the trees and the crops of the land. The next day they came to the city of Sidon. There they lodged by a river that flowed near to that place. Those who guarded the city never wanted to do them any kindness. I do not know what thought they were doing but they sent enough of their men outside in order to inflict damage on the host. They began to skirmish and torment the knights who were lodged nearby so that they could not endure it anymore: instead they mounted their horses and charged them. I do not know how many they killed. The rest of those remaining in the city faltered and had no further will to attack our men, so that all that night our men relaxed in peace. In the morning, in order to rest the common people, they did not set off but sent out foragers throughout the surrounding towns with armed men to guard them. They brought a great abundance of provisions back to the men and the horses. They had many beasts, large and small, and they all returned without any loss except a single knight who was named Walter de Ver. He had gone ahead with too much hope, but he never returned and no-one ever knew what became of him. There was much anger in the host on account of this. The following day they travelled along a very rough road and descended afterwards by a pass to the plains. To the right they left that ancient city which is called Sarepta, where the prophet Elijah was. Then they passed a stream which flowed between Tyre and Sidon. They kept going until they came to this

87 il] F05 F31 F41 *lack*; et F51 F53.

88 mistrent] remistrent F04 F05 F31 F35 F37 F38 F41 F49 F69 F78.

89 il se mistrent a la voie] F03 F36 *lack*; voie] chemin F37 F42 F65.

90 Il] et F06 F39 F40 F43 F44 F51 F53 F65; et il F50 F57 F73 F77.

91 sunt] siet F40; est F44 F49 F50 F53 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F72.

92 mout perilleus qui...mer] qui est entre les montaignes et la mer molt perillous F70.

93 il] et F44 F55 F58 F70 F72.

94 Iluecques] F30 F53 *lack*; et iluec F50 F57.

95 delez] pres F57 F73; pres de F50 F77.

96 delez la cité] β F04 F70 F72 *lack*.

97 corant] si F69 F74 F78.

noble city of Tyre. There they lodged before the magnificent fountain which is so renowned; which is the fountain of pleasure and well of living water as is told in the scriptures.⁹⁸ They spent the night in this delightful garden. After they had stopped they took to the road. They travelled a very dangerous pass which was between the mountains and the sea, then they descended to the plains of the city of Acre. There, by a stream flowing near the city, they pitched their tents.]

The initial reason for choosing this chapter was the discrepancy in the modern editions with regards to the mention of the prophet Elijah in Sarepta. The Latin had rendered 'Heliae nutricia' [The nourisher of Elijah] while the Paris edition reads 'Elyes fu' [Elijah was] and the *RHC* edition reads 'Elielyes fu né' [Elijah was born], which is not consistent with the biblical record (see note 75). The large majority of manuscripts—including F02, F05, and F38, manuscripts that seem close to the Latin—agree with the reading in the Paris edition. Only eight of the fifty-one manuscripts differ (see Table 1 below). Of these eight, five agree with the *RHC* edition rendering 'fu né' (F41, F44, F70, F72, and F77) and a sixth (F36, dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century), gives the more Latinate variation of the same phrase: 'fu natis'. While these manuscripts are few in number, they represent all of the manuscript groups provisionally identified: F41 from group α , F36 and F44 from group β , and F70, F72, and F77 from group λ . Two other manuscripts from group λ , F57 and F73, give 'Elias fu envoie' [Elijah was sent]. While this variant reading is not closer to the Latin, it is actually more in accord with the story as related in 1 Kings 17:9–15, in which Elijah is sent by God to Sarepta and is provided food and drink by a widow. As the manuscript tradition seems strongly supported, it seems unlikely that a variety of scribes independently added the word 'né', especially as it was not accurate. It therefore seems more probable that the original reading of the translation, or of a subsequent copy that formed the exemplar of all the surviving manuscripts, was 'fu né'. If so, then we have an instance of *difficilior lectio* in which copyists recognised a mistake and sought to remove the erroneous information, a possibility if it were a cleric copying this text who was familiar with the biblical story, as in the case of F57 and F73. It is also possible that William's 'nutricia', meaning 'nursed' or 'nourished', gave rise to the erroneous 'born' by the translator, with the resultant 'né' being introduced and subsequently corrected later by scribes.

98 This wording is present in all of the manuscripts and was clearly introduced by the translator, but I have been unable to locate any biblical reference to the fountain at Tyre. In Book 4.10 the same word, 'escritures', was used to refer to legends about Mount Parnassus, and the translator may again be confusing secular writings.

TABLE 1 7.22 A

Ou Helies li profetes fu	F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F06 F30 F31 F32 F33 F34 F35 F37 F38 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F50 F51 F52 F53 F54 F55 F56 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F69 F71 F74 F78
Ou Helies li profetes fu né	F41 F44 F70 F72 F77
Ou Helies li profetes fu envoie	F57 F73
Ou Helies li profetes fu natis	F36
Lack chapter—MSS mutilated	F46 F71

A significant divergence that occurs within the manuscripts of this chapter relates to the stream near which the crusader army set up camp before Sidon (see Table 2 below). William related ‘Sequenti vero die Sydonem pervientes, secus fluentia, aquarum commoditatem sequuti, locaverunt tabernacula’⁹⁹ [Coming upon Sidon the following day, they made use of a nearby stream to set-up camp]. The Paris edition reads ‘L’endemain vindrent à la cité de Saiete. Là se logierent sur un flun où il tornerent, assez près d’ilec’¹⁰⁰ [the next day they came to the city of Sidon. There they lodged by a river where it flowed near to there], while the *RHC* edition reads ‘Lendemein vindrent à la cité de Saiete. Là se logierent seur un flum qui cort assez près d’iluec’¹⁰¹ [the next day they came to the city of Sidon. There they lodged on a river that ran near to that place] (see note 14). While the general sense of the crusaders encamping by a river that flowed near to Sidon remains the same, there are clearly variant readings in the editions. The particular phrase that varies is ‘où il tornerent’. Only two manuscripts, F43 and F45, match the *RHC* edition in reading ‘qui cort’. Manuscript F51 is also close to this reading ‘où cort’, while F44 reads ‘courante’. Most of the group α manuscripts match the Paris reading. However, F01, F31, and F35 read ‘troverent’ [they found] instead of ‘tornerent’. It is likely that this reading is erroneous, a form of metathesis from the original text, as it is further from the Latin and not found in the closer manuscripts. It is, however, a common reading found in all of the group λ manuscripts except F70 and F71. It is not as common in the group β manuscripts but is found in F30, F53, F54, F60, and F63. These variations on the phrase ‘ou il tornerent’ link closely related manuscripts, though

99 WT, 7.22 lines 4–6.

100 Paris, 7.22 vol. 1 p. 255.

101 *RHC*, 7.22 p. 377.

care must be taken because, as the number of variants shows, scribes could have independently introduced these changes.

TABLE 2 7.22 *B*

Ou il tornerent	F03 F04 F05 F06 F32 F33 F37 F38 F39 F41 F47 F48 F52 F58 F61 F62 F65
Que il tornerent	F02 F36 F40 F42 F55 F58 F64
Ou il troverent	F30 F31 F35 F49 F69 F74 F78
Que il troverent	F01 F50 F53 F54 F57 F60 F63 F72 F73 F77
Qui cort	F43 F45
Ou cort	F51
Courante	F44
Lack chapter—MSS mutilated	F46 F71

References to a spring near Tyre that is mentioned by William could be useful for establishing a stemma (see Table 3 below). He related that the army came upon Tyre and ‘ubi circa illum egregium et seculis admirabilem fontem hortorum et puteum aquarum viventium castrametati’¹⁰² [There they encamped nearby the illustrious and magnificent fountain of renown and well of living water]. The Paris edition renders the French text as ‘la se logierent devant la tresnoble fonteine qui est si renommée, qui est fontaine des courtiliz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l’escripture’¹⁰³ [There they lodged before the magnificent fountain which is so renowned, which is the fountain of pleasure and well of living water as is told in the scriptures]. The *RHC* edition, in contrast, reads ‘la se logierent devant la très noble fontaine des courtiz, ès puis des eues, si com dit l’escripture’¹⁰⁴ [There they lodged before the magnificent fountain of pleasure and well of living water as is told in the scriptures¹⁰⁵]. It is clear that the Paris version is closer to the Latin. Also, most of the manuscripts from group α , including F02, F05, and F38, contain an almost identical reading. In what would appear to be a case of homoteleuton, the majority of manuscripts, including F31 and F35 from group α , all λ_1 , and nearly all of group β , lack the phrase ‘qui si est renommée qui est fontaine’ (see note 82).

¹⁰² WT, 7.22 lines 28–30.

¹⁰³ Paris, 7.22 vol. 1 p. 256.

¹⁰⁴ *RHC*, 7.22 p. 312.

¹⁰⁵ As mentioned in footnote 98, this does not appear to be a biblical reference.

Manuscripts F31 and F35 consistently share readings that distinguish them from the rest of the α manuscripts. The only exception from group β is F36, which is a late fifteenth-century manuscript, containing numerous alternate readings. Care must be taken in trying to divide the manuscripts using the presence or absence of this passage. While a rough division appears to coincide with the initial divisions, several manuscripts cross the divide: F31 and F35 are closer here to the β manuscripts than to the α group, while F36 is closer to the latter group than the β group. It could have been easy for a scribe to have made this mistake and could have occurred within the different groups independently. This passage, however, can indicate the subsequent development of the manuscript tradition. While the reading in the Paris edition is found in the majority of the α manuscripts, the only manuscripts to have a similar reading to the *RHC* edition by also lacking ‘vivanz’ for this portion of the text are F45 and F51.

TABLE 3 7.22 C

la se logierent devant la tresnoble fontaine qui si est renomée, qui est fontaine des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l'escripture	F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F38 F41 F49 F52 F74
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fontaine des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l'escripture	F31 F33 F34 F35 F39 F40 F44 F47 F48 F53 F54 F55 F72
la se logierent pres la noble fontaine des courtilz, et pres des eaues vivanz, si come dit l'escripture	F06
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fontaine des courtilz, et puiz des eues douces vivanz, si come dit l'escripture	F32
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fontaine des courtilz, et puiz des eiues vivanz, si come dit l'escripture	F70
la se logierent devant la haute fontaine qui si est renomee et si corant la ou il ja si riches jardins si com dit l'escriture	F50 F73 F77
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fontaine qui si est renomee et si corant la ou il ja si riches jardins si com dit l'escriture	F57

TABLE 3 7.22 C (cont.)

la se logierent devant la terre noble fonteine	F69 F78
qui si est renomée, qui est fontaine des courtilz,	
et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit l'escripture	
la se logierent devant la noble fonteine des	F30 F37 F42
courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit	
l'escripture	
si se logierent illec devant la tresnoble fontaine	F36
qui tant est renommee qui est fontaine des	
jardins et puis des eaues vives si comme dist	
l'escripture	
la se logierent devant la tresnoble cité des	F43 F60
courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come dit	
l'escripture	
la se logierent devant la tresnoble cité des	F45 F51
courtilz, et puiz des eaues, si come dit	
l'escripture	
la se logierent devant la tresnoble cité fonteine	F62
des courtilz, et puiz des eaues, si come dit	
l'escripture	
la se logierent devant la tresnoble cité fonteine	F61 F63 F65
des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivanz, si come	
dit l'escripture	
la se logierent devant la tresnoble cité fonteine	F64—The word 'cité' is struck
des courtilz, et puiz des eaues coranz , si come	through in this ms
dit l'escripture	
la se logierent devant la tresnoble fonteine des	F58
courtilz, et puiz des eaues coranz , si come dit	
l'escripture	
Lack chapter	F46 F71

A few manuscripts from group λ_1 contain a further alternative reading: 'qui est fontaine des courtilz, et puiz des eaues vivan, si come dit l'escripture es jardins mout delitables furent une nuit' [which is the fountain of pleasure and well of living water, as is told in the scriptures, they spent a night in a very pleasant garden]: F50, F57, F73, and F77 all read 'et si courant la ou il a si richez jardinz si comme dist l'escriure. En celui lieu si delitable furent une nuit' [and they

spread out there, where there is such a rich garden just as is said in the scriptures. They spent the night in this delightful place]. Throughout this portion of Chapter 7.22, these four manuscripts regularly show close affinities. They all add 'iluec' to 'cort' at the beginning of the chapter and replace 'chevaliers' with 'a ceus'. They all also add 'nostre' to 'lost' and replace 'cité ne' with 'cité qui puis ne'. There are also instances in which F50, F73, and F77 contain unique readings, most notably replacing 'haute' with 'tresnoble'. These three are also unique in merging Chapter 7.22 with the previous chapter, 7.21. In doing so, the capital 'Au' is replaced with 'et au'.

The division of group λ into two subgroups is supported by readings unique to the Eastern manuscripts. A particular difference is the spelling of the city Sarepta, the Latin form of the name. All the group α and group β manuscripts give the spelling 'Sarepte'. Of the Eastern manuscripts, only F72 from λ_1 and F78 from λ_2 contain this reading. Manuscript F69 has a similar reading of 'Saprete', but F49 and F74 read 'Sarphent', F77 reads 'Serfrant', and F50, F57, F73, and F77 all read 'Sarsent', with the scribe of a common ancestor likely replacing the 'f' with an 's'. Later in the chapter, F57 and F73 also replace 'Saiete' with 'Sarsent', which would appear to be a mistaken reading, while F50 reads 'Sarphent'. It seems likely that the 'Sarepte' form is the original version. The form 'Sarphent' has been shown to have been prevalent in the East, 'Zarephath' in Hebrew, and 'Sarafand' in Arabic,¹⁰⁶ and plausible that an Eastern scribe altered the name to a form that was more familiar. Manuscripts F69 and F72 are distinctive in reading 'terre' instead of 'tres'. The scribe of an antecedent of these two manuscripts must have presumed 'tres' to be a contraction of 'terre' (*trē*) and expanded the word with the resulting erroneous reading.

In regard to the group β manuscripts, there are few instances in which a clear manuscript tradition appears. Instead, it would appear, in the case of this particular chapter, that in general the manuscripts all come from an original β version, distinct from the group α manuscripts, but all representing different variants from their original, more a scatter-gram, rather than a linear, family-tree type of relationship. The only two manuscripts from this group that appear to have a clear relationship for this chapter are the fifteenth-century F37 and F42. In general, these two manuscripts share a number of distinctive readings and both lack similar passages. However, each, at certain points, has readings not found in the other which are more similar to other group β manuscripts, but these could be termed 'normal' scribal variations. An example occurs with

106 R.D. Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem: A Corpus*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1998), p. 281.

the first word of the chapter, 'Au'. Manuscript F42, like most others, reads 'Au', but F37 reads 'Le'. The only other manuscript to share this reading is F44; however, this is a late manuscript and contains a large number of variant readings not found in any other manuscript. Manuscript F37 also replaces 'blese' with 'biens', which is a unique reading. Meanwhile, F42 replaces 'gardoit' with 'gouvernoi et gardoit'. Their similarities, however, are far more numerous. Both replace 'assez' with 'largement' and replace 'reposer' with 'reposer et raffreschir', 'murent' with 'partirent une', 'espoir' with 'par sa baillance', and 'voie' with 'chemin'.

Similarities appear among those manuscripts that contain the *Rothelin Continuation*. In particular, various readings either add 'cité' or replace 'fontaine' with 'cité' which would seem to indicate that these manuscripts are closely related: F61, F62, F63, and F65 all add 'cité', but F62 is also lacking 'vivanz'. Manuscript F62 is similar in this respect to F45 and F51, which are not *Rothelin* manuscripts, but these two manuscripts only read 'cité' not 'cité fontaine'. Another non-*Rothelin* manuscript to contain 'cité' is F43, whose reading is similar to F60, which is a *Rothelin* manuscript and elsewhere is very close to F62. Manuscript F58 does not contain 'cité' but is close to the same reading as F64 throughout the manuscript, and both replace 'vivanz' with 'coranz'. These two manuscripts may be linked with the other 'cité' manuscripts: F64 originally had a reading—similar to F61, F62, F63, and F65—that read 'cité fontaine'. However, in F64 the mistake has been detected and a line drawn through 'cité' to indicate that the word should be omitted. Manuscript F64, though close to F58, at no other point has a reading that would associate it with the other manuscripts that contain 'cité'. It seems that the erroneous reading of 'cité fontaine' had been noticed and corrected, but it is difficult to determine when the error was corrected and on what authority it was made.

The fact that several other manuscripts—F43, F45, F51, and F60—contain just 'cité' suggests that a scribe had encountered 'cité fontaine' and removed 'fontaine' to produce an erroneous reading. While F58–65 are fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts, F43 has been dated to 1275 and F51 to c.1250–75, both coming from northern France. Those scribes who attempted to correct the 'cité fontaine' reading kept only the incorrect 'cité' wording. The only exception is F64, which generally seems to belong to a different tradition. It seems unlikely that a shift of exemplars had occurred, since F58 and F64 share unique variants in close proximity to this passage. It is therefore likely that these two manuscripts stem from a manuscript that introduced 'cité' and which was also an antecedent for the rest of the manuscripts with this reading. They, however, sharply diverged, in the ways in which 'cité fontaine' has been corrected.

Throughout this chapter, the *RHC* edition includes a number of readings that do not correspond to the Latin and are found only in a single manuscript, F45. Examples of this include the reading ‘cele cité lessierent a senestre’¹⁰⁷ [this city lay to the left] instead of ‘a destre laisserent cele ancienne cité’ [to the right lay this ancient city] and replacing ‘et petite’ with ‘presenz’. However, the *RHC* edition does not always follow F45. This is not true regarding F45’s reading of ‘cité’ instead of ‘fontaine’. The edition includes the more common and correct reading of ‘fontaine’.¹⁰⁸ It also does not include a possible case of homoteleuton in F45, so that the phrase ‘et descendirent apres’ is lacking in the manuscript. This phrase follows after ‘aspre voie’, and it seems possible that the scribe’s eye skipped to ‘apres’ after ‘aspre’, but the inclusion of ‘voie’, however, creates a problem in labelling this a homoteleuton. In any case, the phrase is lacking in F45. It seems clear that the *RHC* editors corrected some mistakes found in F45, but not all.

An interesting alteration in some manuscripts is the replacement of the plural verb ‘sunt’ with the singular ‘est’ in ‘uns destroiz mout perilleus qui sunt entre les monteignes et la mer’ [a very dangerous pass which is between the mountains and the sea]. While it may be grammatically correct to insert ‘est’, ‘sunt’ is actually a closer translation of William’s ‘iacent’ from ‘exsuperatis angustiis que inter montes prominentes et mare periculose nimis iacent medie’¹⁰⁹ [travelling over an extremely dangerous pass situated between the mountains and the sea], since ‘anguistae’, a narrow gorge or pass, is a plural noun.

While it is clear that there are some manuscripts, F38 in particular, that contain readings that are regularly closer to the Latin text, scribes have clearly been willing to alter the text. This is particularly true with the passage relating to the prophet Elijah. While the translator seems to have translated the Latin ‘nutricia’ with ‘fu né’, since it is found in several manuscripts, particularly those with readings closer to the Latin, later copyists attempted to correct the sentence. The fact that similar readings occur in manuscripts that are not otherwise strongly related points to this as having been done independently by different scribes, but also presents difficulties when attempting to identify the relationships between the manuscripts. It is quite clear, however, from the fact that the majority of the α manuscripts do not contain the homeoteleuton lacking ‘qui sie est renomée, qui est fontaine’ that these manuscripts preserve an earlier reading of the texts. The fact that it is also found in several of the λ

107 *RHC*, 7.22 p. 312.

108 *RHC*, 7.22 p. 312.

109 *WT*, 7.22 lines 32–33.

manuscripts shows that an early version of the text formed the base for this group, despite later alterations.

The β manuscripts all contain diverse variant readings, clearly belonging to a later stage of the manuscript tradition. There is a group of these manuscripts, among which are early manuscripts such as F34 and late manuscripts such as F44, that include the homeoteleuton but do not contain other significant variants. The fact that Fo4, alone among the α manuscripts, lacks 'delez cité' appears to indicate that the β group manuscripts descend from a manuscript related to Fo4. Manuscripts F70 and F72 also lack 'delez la cité' and contain the homeoteleuton lacking 'qui sie est renommée, qui est fontaine'. In this they are distinctive from the λ manuscripts. However, these two manuscripts are not particularly close to the β manuscripts elsewhere, and may be the result of a scribal error or an indication that an antecedent of these two manuscripts had been corrected using a manuscript from a different group.

Book 11 Chapter 14

Using F02 and F38 as the Base Manuscripts

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
F01 125r-v	F50 141r-v	F49 123r-v	F06 106v	F47 68v
F02 75r-v	F57 119v-120r	F69 165r-v	F30 96r	F48 85r
F03 77r-v	F70 117r-v	F71 A80v	F32 80r	F51 85r
F04 54v-55r	F72 113v	F74 145r-v	F33 101r	F53 121v
F05 121v-122r	F73 95v-96r	F78 133v	F34 84r	F54 86v-87r
F31 112v	F77 128v-129r		F36 109v	F55 70v-71r
F35 88r			F37 165r-v	F58 96r-v
F38 62v			F39 218	F60 104r-v
F41 158v			F40 100v	F61 94v-95r
F52 94v			F42 153v-154r	F62 MS 22496
				110v-111r
			F43 96v-97r	F63 104v
			F44 135r	F64 117r
			F45 97v	F65 180r-v
			F46 MS mutilated	

Ne demora gueres¹ en cele saison meismes, que la novele de la terre²
d'outremer³ qui ainsi estoit⁴ conquise et⁵ ou l'en guerroit⁶ les ennemis⁷
Nostre Seigneur, fu alee jusques⁸ en occident en la terre qui a⁹ nom
Noroegue. Assez i ot¹⁰ chevaliers et autres gens a¹¹ li¹² talens prist du

1 gueres] gaires que F60 F61 F62.
2 de la terre] F30 F36 *lack*.
3 que la novele de la terre d'outremer] F61 F65 *lack*.
4 estoit] avoit esté F43 F45 F47 F51 F53.
5 et] F49 F50 F69 F71 F72 F78 *lack*.
6 guerroit] grevoit F69 F71 F74 F78.
7 ennemis] ennemis de F37 F42.
8 jusques] F60 F62 *lack*.
9 a] ot F51 F53.
10 i ot] F51 F53 *lack*.
11 a] λ_2 F01 F05 F31 F38 F50 F57 F73 *lack*.
12 li] F30 F36 F60 *lack*; a F37 F42 F64.

pelerinage por aller¹³ au Sepuchre.¹⁴ Ilz apareillerent bele navie et se mis-trent ens par la mer d'Engleterre. S'en¹⁵ alerent¹⁶ jusques ilz¹⁷ vindrent en la mer d'Acre.¹⁸ Puis¹⁹ arriverent au port de Japhe. Sires²⁰ et chevetaines de cele navie²¹ estoit²² un moult²³ beaus bachelers,²⁴ blons²⁵ et grans²⁶ et bien fez, frere le roi de Noroegue. Quant ilz furent arivez ainsi²⁷ pour rendre leur veus et²⁸ parfaire lors pelerinages s'en²⁹ alerent en Jherusalem.³⁰ Quant³¹ li rois oi la³² noveles³³ de³⁴ la venue de³⁵ cele gent, hastivement s'en vint a eus et³⁶ grant joie leur fist et leur envoya beaus³⁷ presenz. Mout se acointa debonnairement de ces haut³⁸ home qui estoit chies³⁹ des autres. Puis leur demanda se ilz avoient proposement, pour Dieu et pour l'onneur⁴⁰

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- 13 du pelerinage por aler] d'aler en pelerinage et F45 F60 F61 F62 F65.
 14 Sepuchre] saint sepulchre F37 F53 F65.
 15 S'en] Si s'en F47 F55 F61.
 16 par la mer d'Engleterre s'en alerent] s'en allerent par la mer d'angleterre F37 F42.
 17 S'en alerent jusques ilz] tant qu'il F50; Tant alerent qu'il F70 F72.
 18 S'en alerent jusques ilz vindrent en la mer d'Acre] F31 F74 *lack*.
 19 Puis] et F58 F64.
 20 Sires] Souverain seigneur F37 F42.
 21 navie] galie F58 F64.
 22 de cele navie estoit] estoit de cele navie F34 F36 F45 F51 F53; fu de cele navie F71 F74 F78.
 23 moult] Fo6 F30 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 *lack*.
 24 de cele navie...bachelers] estoit uns biaux bachelers de cele navie F60 F61 F62 F65; bach-elors] chevalier Chastelains avoit nom F70 F72; chastelains F50 F77.
 25 blons] bons Fo4.
 26 grans] blans F60 F61 F62 F65.
 27 ainsi] il issirent a terre F70; il issirent F50 F72.
 28 et] et pour F61 F65.
 29 s'en] F58 F64 *lack*.
 30 Quant ilz furent...Jherusalem] F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
 31 Quant] F30 F54 F55 F58 F64 *lack*; Et quant F60 F62.
 32 la] Fo1 F38 F41 F49 F50 F52 F53 F57 F73 *lack*; ces F74 F78.
 33 noveles] verité F33.
 34 la noveles de] Fo4 F32 F34 F37 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55 *lacks*.
 35 la venue de] Fo6 F30 F33 F39 F43 F45 F47 F51 F53 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F69 F71 F74 F77 F78 *lack*; de] a F50 F57.
 36 et] Fo1 Fo5 F37 F39 F40 F41 F42 F48 F49 F50 F52 F55 F57 F58 F60 F62 F64 F69 F70 F71 F72 F73 *lack*.
 37 beaus] de beaus Fo6 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65.
 38 haut] grant F50 F70.
 39 chies] chievetains F31; chies et souverain F37; riches et chies F64.
 40 l'onneur] F50 F57 F73 *lack*.

de la Crestienté, que ilz demorassent en la terre tant, que par la volenté Nostre⁴¹ Seigneur⁴² et par leur aide,⁴³ l'en⁴⁴ eust conquis aucune des⁴⁵ cités des⁴⁶ Sarrasins⁴⁷ qui sieent⁴⁸ sur la mer.⁴⁹ Ilz pristrent conseil entr'eus⁵⁰ et respondirent que par tele intencion, qu'ilz servissent Nostre Seigneur, estoient ilz meuz⁵¹ de leur pais et venu jusques la. Et⁵² prometoient bien⁵³ le roi que, se il voloit⁵⁴ asseoir une⁵⁵ des citez de la marine, menast⁵⁶ son ost par terre il menroient leur navie⁵⁷ par mer et volontiers lui aideroient selon leurs pooir⁵⁸ a bone foi. Quant li rois oi leur proposement, grant joie en ot⁵⁹ et sans demorance fist semondre tant com il pot avoir de chevaliers⁶⁰ en son regne.⁶¹ Puis amena tout⁶² son ost devant⁶³ la cité de Saiette.⁶⁴ Une⁶⁵ grant navie de

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- 41 Nostre] de nostre F06 F32 F33 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F48 F51 F53 F54 F57 F65 F71 F73 F77; et par nostre F72.
 42 Nostre Seigneur] F69 F74 *lack*.
 43 leur aide] aide lor F69 F74.
 44 l'en] F69 F74 *lack*.
 45 des] F01 F30 F36 F49 F69 F71 F74 *lack*.
 46 des] que li F57 F73.
 47 Sarrasins] sarrasin tenoient F57 F73.
 48 siéent] estoient F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F73; des Sarrasins qui siéent] F47 F51 F53 *lack*.
 49 des Sarrasins...mer] de la marine qui estoient des sarrasins F50 F70 F72; mer] marine F37 F57 F47; sur la mer] de la marine F47 F51; des Sarrasins qui siéent sur la mer] par la marine aux sarrasins F45 F53.
 50 entr'eus] F60 F61 F62 *lack*.
 51 meuz] venu F01 F53 F69 F74.
 52 Et] si F61 F65.
 53 bien] F44 F53 F60 F74 *lack*.
 54 voloit] F43 F45 F47 F53 *lack*.
 55 une] nule F43 F45 F47 F53; aucune F44 F55 F58 F64 F69 F74 F78.
 56 menast] et menast F03 F35; si menast F31.
 57 navie] F43 F51 *lack*.
 58 pooir] pooir que il avoient λ1 λ2.
 59 grant joie en ot] si en ot molt grant joie F31.
 60 com il pot avoir de chevaliers] chevaliers com il pot avoir F01 F04 F35 F50 F69 F78; de chevaliers come il pot avoir F06 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F49 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77; de chevaliers qu'il peust finex F65; de chevaliers] F37 *lacks*.
 61 regne] conroi armé F45 F64; conroi F52.
 62 tout] F01 F70 F72 *lack*.
 63 devant] en F45 F47 F51.
 64 Saiette] Acre F57.
 65 Une] D'autre part une F37 F42.

Turs⁶⁶ estoit⁶⁷ meue de la cité d'Acre,⁶⁸ por venir aidier a l'argent⁶⁹ de Saiette,⁷⁰ si que pres que⁷¹ tuit ensemble vindrent cil dui ost cele part. Saiette,⁷² cele cité,⁷³ siet sur la mer⁷⁴ entre Baruth et Sur en la province de Fenice⁷⁵; moult a⁷⁶ beau siege⁷⁷ de⁷⁸ vile.⁷⁹ Anciene citéz est moult.⁸⁰ Sydon,⁸¹ li fils⁸² Canaam, la fonda dont ele tient⁸³ encore le nom selon le⁸⁴ latin.⁸⁵ Ele est⁸⁶ desouz l'arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes ancienes⁸⁷ escriptures.⁸⁸ Dido en fu nee,⁸⁹ la roine⁹⁰ qui fonda Cartage.⁹¹ Li rois assist cele vile⁹² par mer et⁹³ par terre.⁹⁴

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- 66 de Turs] Fo6 *lacks*; de crestiens F50 F70 F72.
 67 estoit] restoit Fo6 F30 F30 F33 F36 F57 F70 F72 F73 F77; partie F37 F42 F65; re estoit F57 F70; i avoit F58 F64.
 68 d'Acre] de Ascalon Fo6; de Sur F57 F73.
 69 lor gent] ceus F34 F36 F60 F61 F62; secourir ceulx F65.
 70 une grant navie...gent de Saiette] Fo1 F31 F41 F44 F48 F51 F52 F53 λ2 *lack*.
 71 que] Fo1 Fo2 Fo5 Fo6 F30 F33 F34 F36 F39 F40 F54 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
 72 Saiette] de F74 F78; F69 *lacks*.
 73 Saiette cele cité] Celle cité Saiete F37 F42 F57; la cité de Saiete si F43 F45 F47 F53; cele cité] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.
 74 mer] marine F57 F71 F73.
 75 en la province de Fenice] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.
 76 a] i Fo6 F43 F45 F47 F51 F53 F54 F60 F62 F63.
 77 a beau siege] siet biau F57 F73; siege] situation F37 F42.
 78 de] cele F57 F70 F72 F73.
 79 moult a beaus siege de vile] F30 F36 *lack*.
 80 moult] molt plasians F31; plaisans F35 *lacks* text prior to this point.
 81 Sydon] F31 F36 F44 F69 F74 F78 *lack*.
 82 li fils] Fo1 Fo2 Fo3 Fo4 Fo5 Fo6 F31 F32 F33 F34 F36 F38 F39 F41 F43 F45 F47 F48 F50 F51 F52 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 F69 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77 F78 *lack*.
 83 tient] a F50 F57 F73 F77; en tient F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 84 le] F69 F74 F77 *lacks*.
 85 Sydon li fils Canaan la fonda dont ele tient encore le nom selon le latin] F37 F42 *lack*.
 86 est] iert F71 F78.
 87 ancienes] F31 F35 F57 F73 *lack*.
 88 Ele est dessouz l'arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes ancienes escriptures] Fo4 β *lack*.
 89 en fu nee] la fonda F71 F74 F78; F69 *lacks*.
 90 la roine] F32 F43 F47 F45 F51 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F65 *lack*; Dido en fu nee la roine] la royne Dido en fut nee F37 F42.
 91 Cartage] la cité de Cartage F32 F43 F45 F47; De ceste cité...Cartage] maintes ansienes escriptures dient que Dido la royne qui fonda Cartage en fu nee F70 F72.
 92 vile] cité F36 F44 F57 F71 F73.
 93 par mer et] F30 *lacks*.
 94 mer et par terre] terre et par mer Fo4 Fo6 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; et par terre et par mer F72.

[Not long after during this season, the news of the land of Outremer which was thus conquered and where one could fight the enemies of Our Lord, had gone into the West as far as the land called Norway. It had plenty of knights and other men who wished to undertake a pilgrimage to go to the Sepulchre. They made ready a fine navy and put the ships into the sea of England (North Sea). They journeyed until they came to the sea of Acre (eastern Mediterranean) arriving at the port of Jaffa. Lord and captain of this fleet was a very handsome young man (Sigurd I Magnusson), blond and tall and well built, brother to the king of Noway (Eystein I Magnusson). When they had arrived, they went to Jerusalem in order to fulfil their vows and complete their pilgrimage. When the king heard the news of the arrival of these men, he quickly came to them and made them very happy and sent them beautiful gifts. He very graciously welcomed this worthy man who was the chief of the others. Then he asked them if, for God and for the honour of Christianity, they would stay in the land long enough so that, by the desire of Our Lord and by their aid, he could conquer another of the cities of the Muslims which lay on the sea. They took counsel amongst themselves and replied that it was for this reason, that they should serve Our Lord, that they had left their country and come there. They also promised the king that if he wished to besiege one of the cities on the coast, he should bring his army by land, and they would take their fleet by sea and willingly aid him, according to their strength, in good faith. When the king heard their proposal he was very joyful and summoned without delay as many knights as he was able to from his kingdom. Then he brought his whole host before the city of Sidon. A great fleet of Turks had left from the city of Acre in order to come to the aid of their men in Sidon, so that almost all the men of these two hosts came together in that place. This city Sidon is situated on the sea between Beirut and Tyre in the province of Phoenicia It is a very good location for a city. The city is very ancient. Sidon, the son of Canaan, founded it, and it still retains this name in Latin. It is under the archbishopric of Tyre. Many ancient writings speak of this city. Dido was born in it, the queen who founded Carthage. The king besieged this city by sea and by land.]

This chapter was chosen because of information, not in the Latin text, to the effect that a Muslim fleet left Acre to go to the aid of the citizens of Sidon. This statement is self-evidently inaccurate, as the Christians held Acre at the time of the siege of Sidon in 1111. Some manuscripts—Fo6, F57, and F73 in particular (see note 68)—had different readings for this text, possibly reflecting a more accurate reading because the cities named in these manuscripts were under

Muslim control. This reference to the Muslim fleet coming from Acre, however, is present in most manuscripts and from all groups. While several manuscripts lack the passage, this appears to be a case of homoteleuton. This passage may be useful in establishing the relationship between the manuscripts and, importantly, identifying manuscripts closer to William's Latin. An example is how William's phrase 'Rex ergo cognito eorum adventu'⁹⁵ [The king therefore having learned of their arrival] is rendered in the French, with several manuscripts containing a reading 'quant li rois oi la novele de la venue de cele gent' [when the king heard the news of the arrival of these men], that appears closest to the Latin, while the majority of manuscripts contain variant readings that either lack a portion of this phrase or contains an alternative word choice.

The phrase 'une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cite d'Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette' [A great fleet of Turks set off from the city of Acre in order to come to the aid of their men in Sidon] is of particular importance. First, because there are several different readings, and second, as highlighted by Paulin Paris, the reading in the original translation appears to contain erroneous information.⁹⁶ The fact that Acre was in the hands of the crusaders at the time of the siege of Sidon makes it obvious that a mistake has been made at some point in the transmission of this statement. The fact that there is no reference to this fleet in William's Latin makes it difficult to identify the best reading for this passage. Paris's statement that this phrase was lacking in the majority of the closer manuscripts, in his view, may indicate it as a later addition found in only a few manuscripts removed from the original translation. However, this is not borne out by the manuscripts.

Of the fifty-one surviving manuscripts, only thirteen lack a form of this addition. These manuscripts are: F01, F31, and F52 from the α group; F41, F44, F48, F49, F51, and F53 from the β group; and F69, F71, F74, and F78 from the λ_2 group. Manuscript F46 lacks this chapter completely, and F63 lacks much of the first part of the chapter (F63 resumes the narrative with the background to Sidon and lacks the arrival of the Norwegian fleet and the beginning of the siege, including the arrival of Baldwin's army before Sidon). These manuscripts are from all over the manuscript spectrum and are not closely related. None of them is elsewhere closer to the Latin. Some, such as F31, which Paris used for

95 WT, 11.14 line 13.

96 Paris, vol. 1 p. 403 n. 6 'Cette phrase est omise dans plusieurs bons manuscrits. Ici elle donne une traduction opposée au sens, La ville d'Acre était déjà au pouvoir des Chrétiens, et les « navies » qu'elle envoya vers Saiete arrivaient en même temps que l'ost de Baudouin. *Classis a portu Aconensi egressa illuc directe properaverat, ita ut, penecodem momento, uterque exercitus ante urbem conveniret*'.

TABLE 4 *11.14 A*

Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d'Acre, por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette	F02 F03 F04 F05 F35 F38 F42 F43 F45 F47 F54 F55 F58 F64 F70 F72
Une grant navie estoit meue de la cité de Ascalon , por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette	F06
Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité de Sur por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette	F57 F73
Une grant navie de crestiens estoit meue de la cité d'Acre, por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette	F50 F70 F72
Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d'Acre, por venir aidier a ceus de Saiette	F34 F36 F60 F61 F62
Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d'Acre, por venir aidier a secourir ceulx de Saiette	F65
Lack passage	F01 F31 F41 F44 F48 F49 F51 F52 F53 F69 F71 F74 F78
Lacks chapter	F46

his edition, are late thirteenth-century, while others, such as F44, are from the fifteenth century. Since the λ_2 manuscripts are either of an Eastern provenance or derived from those that are, it is tempting to think that the scribe of an antecedent for this group was aware that the statement about the Muslim fleet was incorrect and simply deleted the erroneous passage. However, the λ_1 manuscripts are also Eastern and contain this passage, while also showing links with the λ_2 manuscripts (see Table 4 above).

The fact that the section missing in these manuscripts, 'puis amena tout son ost devant la cité de Saiette. Une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cité d'Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette si que pres que tuit ensemble', coincides with the repetition of the word 'Saiette', the variation does not form a division within the manuscripts, except for group λ_2 , and that these manuscripts all have variations elsewhere would seem to indicate that the omission of this phrase in the thirteen manuscripts is simply a case of homeoteleuton. It is conclusive that this erroneous information, 'une grant navie de Turs estoit

meue de la cite d'Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette', was in fact a part of the original translation.

All of those manuscripts termed 'better manuscripts', because they are closer to the Latin text, contain this reading. Six manuscripts, Fo6, F50, F57, F70, F72, and F73, contain a reading that is more historically accurate. Manuscript Fo6 alters this passage so that it reads 'une grant navie estoit meue de la cite d'**Ascalon** por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette'. Manuscripts F50, F70, and F72 read 'une grant navie de **crestiens** estoit meue de la cite d'Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette'. These are Eastern manuscripts from group λ_1 that share several readings; F70 and F72, in particular, are closely related, so it is not surprising that they would both have the same reading. Since the reading in these two manuscripts is isolated on the stemma, this must be an alteration from the original reading. The copyist of a manuscript that formed a common ancestor for these two manuscripts realised that this passage was incorrect and corrected it to what he believed must have been the original intended reading. It is possible that he was altering it to reflect Sigurd's fleet of Norwegian crusaders who were aiding Baldwin I in the siege, although that would also have been inaccurate, as the newly arrived crusaders were in Jerusalem with Baldwin but had left their fleet at the port of Jaffa, as stated in both the Latin and French versions of the text, and would have sailed to Sidon from Jaffa, not from Acre. It seems that the scribe knew that Acre was in Christian hands at that time, but that a second Christian fleet came to Sidon, in addition to the Norwegians, was a mistake.

Also from group λ_1 are F57 and F73, which read 'une grant navie estoit meue de la cite d'**Sur** por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette'. These readings are further examples of an attempt to correct a *difficilior lectio*, such as that which occurred in Book 7.22 regarding Elijah and Sarepta. These variant readings have clearly been added to the manuscript tradition, since the λ_1 manuscripts elsewhere show close affinities. Furthermore, F77, which is also a λ_1 manuscript, though copied in the West, contains the original 'd'Acre' reading. Since most of these manuscripts with variant readings were copied in the East, F50, F70, F72, and F73 all attributed to an Acre provenance, it would be reasonable to expect that they would know that Acre was not under Muslim control in 1110. The lack of agreement indicates that the scribes were lacking common information about the fleet.

There is also another instance in which both F70 and F72 appear to contain a reading that has been corrected. During the discussion of the background to Sidon, William stated that 'est autem una de urbibus suffraganeis Tyrensis metropolis'⁹⁷ [however it is one of the suffragan cities of the archbishop of

97 WT, 11.14 lines 41–42.

Tyre]. This is rendered in the French as ‘elle est dessouz l’arceveshie de Tyr’ [it is under the archbishop of Tyre]. Manuscripts F70 and F72 are unique in reading ‘elle iert dessouz l’arceveshie de Tyr’ (see apparatus note 86). The use of the imperfect ‘iert’ seems to imply that the scribe was suggesting that Sidon was normally under the archbishop of Tyre but that there was a more complex situation. Saladin had conquered the city in 1187, but a part of the region was restored to Christian control in the truce between Richard I and Saladin in 1192. A condominium was declared in the city in 1197, in which both Christians and Muslims ruled a part of the city, but the city of Sidon was not completely restored to Christian hands until 1229, while the region was partly under Muslim control until 1240. Sidon was sacked by the Mongols in 1260 but was not completely lost until 1291.⁹⁸ The alteration in these two manuscripts may reflect these continual disputes in this region in which the city of Sidon was lost on occasion, but more probable is simply the result of a mistake in an antecedent of these two manuscripts.

The confusion regarding the Norwegian fleet is exacerbated by Fo6, unique among the group β manuscripts in being attributed by Folda with an Eastern provenance.⁹⁹ At the end of Fo6 there is a note that the manuscript was given to the Vatican Library by Queen Isabella of Norway in 1598.¹⁰⁰ This manuscript marginalia seems to have been made after the manuscript came into the possession of the Vatican Library. There is, however, one bit of marginalia next to the list of those who were ruling at the time of the capture of Jerusalem in 1099 which reads ‘et en Escoce le bon Roy David le premier de ce nom’¹⁰¹ [and in Scotland was the good King David, the first of this name]. Despite the statement being incorrect—David I did not become king of Scotland until 1124—the addition of a Western ruler and this connection with Scotland is unique among the *Eracles* manuscripts. The marginalia is in a Gothic script similar to the main text but using a different ink. This addition gives the manuscript a strong Western association, and, if indeed the manuscript was made in the East, it must have been taken to the West soon afterward. The correction from ‘Acre’ to ‘Ascalon’ indicates that the scribe of this manuscript, or one of its antecedents, realised that the passage regarding the fleet was incorrect and corrected the text. The scribe’s correction, similar to F70 and F72, replaced ‘d’Acre’ with ‘de Ascalon’, instead of ‘de Sur’. These alterations retain the original information that a Muslim fleet came to the aid of the citizens of Sidon but instead states that they came

98 Hamilton, *Latin Church*, p. 297.

99 Folda, ‘Handlist’, p. 91.

100 Fo6, fol. 259r.

101 Fo6, fol. 78va; cf. WT, 9.24 lines 55–58.

from Ascalon, which was held by the Fatimids at that time. There does not appear, however, to be confirmation that this aid went to Sidon.

There is a further addition in this chapter appended to the discussion of Sidon. The Old French adds 'Dido en fu nee la royne qui fonda Cartage' [Dido was born in it, the queen who founded the city of Carthage] according to the base manuscripts F02 and F38 and the Paris edition.¹⁰² The *RHC* edition has a slightly different reading of 'Dydo en fu nee qui fonda la cité de Cartage'.¹⁰³ All the group α manuscripts contain the same reading as the Paris edition (see Table 5 below). Some alteration of the word order has crept into group λ_1 , with F70 and F72 both reading 'Dido la royne qui fonda Cartage en fu nee'. In group λ_2 it appears that quite early on a scribal error has been made, with F71, F74, and F78 reading 'Dido la fonda la roine qui fonda Cartage'. In this group only F69 lacks this passage. All the group β manuscripts contain a variation of the passage; F32, F43, F45, and F47 match the *RHC* reading. Several manuscripts also lack 'la royne' but do not include 'la cité de'; these include F51, F53, F54, F60, F61, F62, F63, and F65. Manuscripts F37 and F42 give a variant reading of 'la royne Dido en fu nee qui fonda Cartage', while F44 reads 'Dido y fu nee qui puis la royne de Cartage'. The rest of the group β manuscripts contain the base reading. It seems clear that this phraseology was part of the original translation. The various readings of this passage seem to separate the manuscripts into groupings that are found elsewhere and, as such, can be useful in establishing a stemma.

An interesting manuscript variation again relates to the background to the city of Sidon. As with other Eastern cities, William gave the classical background for the city and provided the source of the name of the city, in this case 'Hanc Sydon, filius Canahan, fundasse legitur, unde et usque in presentem diem nomen tenet auctoris'¹⁰⁴ [It is read that the son of Canaan funded this Sidon and from then until the present day it holds the name of its founder], a reference to Genesis 10:15. However, Huygens noted that the word 'filius' is only present in two manuscripts—British Museum, Royal 14 C. X; and Magdalene College, Cambridge, F. 4. 22—which he labelled B and W respectively. For the French text, both the Paris and *RHC* editions agree in reading 'Sydon li fils Canaam la fonda, dont ele tient encore le non, selon le latin'¹⁰⁵ [Sidon, the son of Canaan, founded it and it still retains this name in Latin], indicating that the translator used a Latin text that included the word 'filius'. However, 'li fils' is lacking from the large majority of the manuscripts. The only manuscripts that

102 Paris, 11.14 vol. 1 p. 403.

103 *RHC*, 11.14 p. 477.

104 WT, 11.14 lines 40–41.

105 Paris, 11.14 vol. 1 p. 403; *RHC*, 11.14 p. 477.

TABLE 5 *11.14 B*

Dydo en fu nee la royne qui fonda Cartage	F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F06 F30 F31 F33 F34 F35 F36 F38 F39 F40 F41 F48 F50 F52 F55 F57 F58 F64 F73 F77 F70 F72
Dido la royne qui fonda Cartage en fu nee	
Dydo la royne qui fonda Cartage	F69
Dydo la fonda la royne qui fonda Cartage	F71 F74 F78
La royne Dido en fut nee qui fonda Cartage	F37 F42
Dido en fu né qui fonda la cité de Cartage	F32 F43 F45 F47
Dido en fu né qui fonda Cartage	F47 F51 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65
Dido y fu nee qui puis la royne de Cartage	F44
Lacks chapter	F46

include this are F30, F40, F44, F54, F55, F58, and F64. These manuscripts are all from group β , which does not include any of the manuscripts closer to the Latin. It is therefore likely that the translation was made from a Latin manuscript that did not contain 'filius'. However, while F58 and F64 have close ties, there are no other readings which would indicate these manuscripts as a separate group in which 'li fils' may have been added, which would explain its absence elsewhere. Subsequent scribes who knew scripture realized that the phrase was missing and inserted it. Due to the number of manuscripts that contain this addition, particularly those which are elsewhere closer to the Latin, it is likely that the translation did originally contain 'li fils', but that it was subsequently lost from the tradition and then reintroduced, especially as the translator has shown elsewhere an understanding of scripture, though this requires the phrase to have been lost early on in the tradition.

The later appearance of this phrase could be due to clerical scribes again inserting information that they had from their biblical knowledge. However, there is little variation on 'li fils', which corresponds with 'filius'. None of the manuscripts add 'qui fu li fils de', for instance, or some other textual variation that may have occurred with the phrase being added independently by various scribes. It is generally unusual for the translator to have retained such background material, but he does appear to have knowledge of the Old Testament and regularly retained or added other biblical references.

A potentially significant division within the manuscripts concerns the translation of 'Rex ergo cognito eorum adventu'¹⁰⁶ [When the king learned of their arrival] regarding Baldwin going to meet the Norwegian crusaders (see notes 34 and 35). The Paris and *RHC* editions both read 'Quant li rois oi la novele de cele gent'¹⁰⁷ [When the king heard the news of these men]. However, most of the group α manuscripts—including F02, F03, F31, F35, F38, F41, and F52—include readings that are a closer translation of the Latin. Manuscripts F02, F03, and F31 read 'Quant li rois oi la novele de la venue de cele gent' [When the king heard the news of the arrival of these men], while F01, F38, F41, and F52 have a very similar reading of 'Quant li rois oi novele de la venue de cele gent' in which only the first 'la' is lacking (see Table 6 below). Manuscript F05 has a unique reading for this passage, 'la novella de cele gent de leur venue', while still preserving the entire passage found in the rest of group α . The only manuscript from group α to lack a part of the passage is F04, which reads 'Quant li rois oit la venue de cele gent' [When the king heard of the arrival of these men]. All of group λ_1 , except F77, include this reading. Nearly all of group λ_2 and group β lack this reading, the only two exceptions being F49, a thirteenth-century manuscript, and F44, from the fifteenth century. The fact that this reading does have a representative in all of the manuscript groups, and the fact that it is a closer translation of the Latin, seems to indicate that the entire phrase was part of the original translation.

With the exception of F44, all of the group β manuscripts have a reading that lacks a part of the original passage. Some, like F04, retain 'la venue de': F32, F34, F37, F40, F42, F48, F54, and F55. Others, like group λ_2 , retain 'la noveles de': F06, F30, F39, F43, F45, F47, F51, F53, F58, F60, F61, F62, F64, and F65. Manuscript F33 is unique in reading 'la verité de' [the truth of]; F36, as it does elsewhere, greatly alters the text, but it is a very late manuscript from the fifteenth century. However, it appears to be a part of the 'venue' group, as it reads 'Si tost que li roi sceut la venue de celle natione' [Soon the king knew of the arrival of this people]. At first glance it appears that the reading in F36 could possibly be a better translation of William's Latin which reads: 'Rex ergo cognito eorum adventu'¹⁰⁸ [The king heard the news of their arrival]. However, since the manuscript contains so many variants and is unique it is unlikely to be a reading closer to the original translation. It is particularly interesting that F44, like F36 a fifteenth-century manuscript, should contain what appears to be the earliest version of

106 WT, II.14 line 13.

107 Paris, II.14 vol. 1 p. 402; *RHC*, II.14 p. 476.

108 WT II.14 line 13.

this passage. It is possible that this is a case of homoteleuton in which different sections of the passage have been omitted by different manuscripts. However, this would imply that different scribes made the same homoteleuton, as the group β manuscripts reading 'venue' are more closely related to the group β manuscripts reading 'novele' than to the group λ_2 manuscripts. It is also possible that scribes found the passage too wordy and believed that it was unnecessary to keep the entire passage.

It is tempting to use this passage to establish relationships between manuscripts based on the variant of this passage they contain, especially because they generally seem to conform to the general division into groups α , β , λ_1 , and λ_2 . In fact, by dividing the manuscripts in this way, those manuscripts that seem to be closely related—such as F37 and F42, F61 and F65, F60 and F62, and F58 and F64—are grouped together. However, there are readings within this chapter that run counter to the divisions as set out in Table 6, in particular the variants regarding the Norwegian crusaders promising Baldwin I that they would aid in besieging a Muslim city on the coast, 'asseoir une des citez de la marine' [to besiege one of the cities on the coast]. For example, F44, F55, F58, and F64 all replace 'une' [one] with 'aucune' [another], while F43, F45, F47, and F53 replace it with 'nule' [any] (see note 55).

Also in this passage, 'siéent' [they lay] is replaced by 'estoient' [they were] in numerous manuscripts, including Fo6, F30, F32, F33, F34, F37, F39, F40, F42, F48, F54, F55, F58, F60, F61, F62, F64, and F65. It is replaced by 'par' in F43 and

TABLE 6 11.14 C

Quant li rois oi la noveles de la venue de cele gent	Fo1 Fo2 Fo3 F31 F35 F38 F41 F44 F49 F52
Quant li rois oi la novella de cele gent de leur venue	Fo5
Quant li rois oi la novele de cele gent	Fo6 F30 F39 F43 F45 F47 F51 F53 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F77 F68 F69 F71 F74 F77 F78
Quant li rois oit la venue de cele gent	Fo4 F32 F34 F37 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55
Quant li rois oi la verité de cele gent	F33
Si tost que li roi sceut la venue de celle natione	F36
Lacks most of the chapter	F63
Lacks entire chapter	F46

TABLE 7 11.14 *D*

Qui siéent sur mer	F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F31 F35 F38 F41 F49 F50 F52 F69 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77 F78
Qui estoient sur mer	F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F73
Qui siéent sur la marine	F37
Par la marine	F43 F45 F53
De la marine	F47 F51
Lack passage	F36 F44
Lacks chapter	F46

F45, and the entire phrase ‘qui siéent sur mer’ is lacking in F36, F44, F47, F51, and F53. These variant readings are found in all of the group β manuscripts that contain this chapter. All the group λ_1 manuscripts also read ‘estoient’, while λ_2 manuscripts agree with the group α manuscripts in reading ‘siéent’. Whereas in the instance regarding ‘la noveles de la venue’, group α generally agreed with group λ_1 and group λ_2 agreed with group β , in this case the agreements are reversed, with the group α manuscripts containing a similar reading to λ_2 and group β manuscripts being similar to the λ_1 manuscripts (see Table 7 above).

Several instances within this chapter appear to set group β apart. Most of these relate to the background of the city of Sidon. In addition to the origin of the name, William also added that the city ‘est autem una de urbibus suffrageneis Tyrensis metropolis.’¹⁰⁹ This is rendered in the French as ‘elle est des-souz l’arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes anciennes escriptures’. The second sentence relating that Sidon was mentioned in scripture is additional to the Latin text. However, the French lacks the several biblical quotations—Matthew 6:2, Matthew 11:21, and Luke 10:13—in which William gave instances in which Sidon is mentioned. This would indicate that the translator was working from a Latin manuscript that contained these passages and that the omission was a conscious decision. The passage mentioning scripture is found in all of the λ group manuscripts, though F57 and F73 lack the word ‘anciennes’. It is also found in all of the group α manuscripts with the sole exception of F04.

109 WT, 11.14 lines 41–42.

Manuusscript Fo4 is not one of the 'better' manuscripts, despite being dated to the first half of the thirteenth century, and was not as carefully executed as some other manuscripts from the same period, such as Fo5, Fo6, or F38. It includes many variations and mistakes such as reading 'bons' instead of 'blons' when discussing the appearance of Sigurd I, the leader of the Norwegian expedition, and is also unique among the group α manuscripts in lacking 'la novele de', discussed earlier. The entire passage 'elle est dessouz l'arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes anciennes escriptures' is absent from all of the group β manuscripts. Alone among the group α manuscripts but in common with the β manuscripts, Fo4 also reads 'par terre et par mer' instead of 'par mer et par terre' when describing Baldwin I besieging the city of Sidon ('Li rois assist cele vile par mer et par terre'). Neither is close to the Latin, which reads 'hanc igitur noster exercitus ex utraque parte obsidione vallans'¹¹⁰ [Therefore our army surrounded both sides, besieging it]. Since the α group manuscripts have elsewhere proven to be closer to the Latin, and presumably the original translation as well, 'par mer et par terre' [by sea and by land] is most likely the correct reading.

Among the λ group manuscripts, only F72 reads 'par terre et par mer' [by land and by sea], with the rest all reading 'par mer et par terre'. This is unusual, as F72 is generally close to F70, such as in the unique reading regarding the Dido reference above. Once again, all the group β manuscripts share the reading 'par terre et par mer' except for F30, which lacks 'par mer et' entirely and, as a result, is further from the Latin. There are also some instances in other chapters, such as Book 15:22 in which Fo4 is unique among the group α manuscripts in possessing a reading that is common to the group β manuscripts. It therefore seems that Fo4 should be thought of as a transitional manuscript, essentially an α manuscript but containing some of the readings that would come to characterise the β manuscripts.

As in the previous sample chapter, the better α manuscripts provide readings that appear closer to the original translation because they contain a reading that is closer to the Latin. The major variants in this chapter involve the lack of various portions of text. Manuscript Fo4 can be linked with the β manuscripts because they all lack the additional background on the city of Sidon. In the previous chapter, the β group was more strongly linked with F31 and F35. The λ group is again similar to the α group but contains a number of variants, particularly with regard to Dido, that distinguishes the group, with F70 and F72 being particularly close.

110 WT, 11.14 lines 42–43.

The numerous variant readings illustrate that, while the manuscripts can be divided into broad groups, these divisions are not always exact. Several variants, such as the lack of the passage 'une grant navie de Turs estoit meue de la cite d'Acre por venir aidier a lor gent de Saiette', cut across the groups. Though these variants may well be of significance, they may be the result of scribal errors, such as homeoteleuton, and while they may indicate relationships between manuscripts they could also be the result of similar errors by various scribes. The division of the manuscripts into the α , β , λ_1 , and λ_2 groups is primarily based on material added to the text and will be discussed in the subsequent chapters.

Book 12 Chapter 1

Using F02 and F38 as the Base Manuscripts

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
F01 135v	F50 152v	F49 MS mutilated	F06 115r	F47 73v
F02 78rF03	F57 129v	F69 116r	F30 MS mutilated	F48 92r
83vF04 59r	F70 125v	F71 Agor	F32 86r	F51 91v
F05 132r	F72 123v	F74 157r	F33 MS mutilated	F53 131r
F31 132r	F73 103r	F78 142v	F34 90v	F54 147r
F35 94v	F77 136v		F36 112r	F55 80r
F38 67v			F37 177v	F58 104v
F41 166r			F39 235	F60 112v
F52 102r			F40 80r	F61 102v
			F42 165r	F62 118v
			F43 104r	F63 111v
			F44 MS mutilated	F64 126r
			F45 102r	F65 192r
			F46 MS mutilated	

Xersés¹ fu uns puissans rois de la terre qui a non Aise et avoit² grant contenz³ au roiaume⁴ de Grece.⁵

[Xerxes was a powerful king from the land which is called Asia and had a great conflict in the Kingdom of Greece]

This chapter, dealing with Baldwin du Bourg’s arrival in Jerusalem following the death of Baldwin I, identified as being his kinsman in William’s text,⁶

1 Xersés] Persés F01 F04 F31 F35 F37 F40 F52 F54 F60 F64 F65 F69 F74 F78; Cersés F34 F61 F62; Yersés F42; Sersés F51; Rerxés F57.
2 avoit] avoit molt F01 F04 β .
3 contenz] debat F37 F42; gent F43 F45 F47 F51; plente de gens F53.
4 roiaume] terre F36.
5 Grece] Egypte F06 F32 F33 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; Persse F34; France et au royaume de Grece F57 F70 F72 F73 F77.
6 For the ambiguous relationship between Baldwin I and Baldwin du Bourg, see Murray, pp. 171–175.

contains the largest single addition to the *Eracles* text. It is also unusual in being a rare case in which the translator has introduced a classical reference into the narrative, and has relevance in establishing a manuscript stemma. This chapter initially was not considered as one of my samples since five manuscripts—F30, F33, F44, F46, and F49—lack the entire chapter. The folios have been removed or cut because they contained miniatures. In the case of F55 the miniature has been cut out along with the first line so that only the text from the word ‘terre’ has survived. In manuscripts where the chapter has survived, this anecdote concerning Xerxes can be attributed to the translator. There is a variant at the beginning of the chapter, however, that separates the manuscripts into different groups.

The material consists of a discussion explaining the differences between Baldwin II and Xerxes, king of Persia. The chapter opens with an introduction to Xerxes: ‘Xersés fu uns puissans rois de la terre qui a non Aise et avoit grant contens au reaume de Grece’ [Xerxes was a powerful king from the land which is called Asia and had a great conflict in the Kingdom of Greece]. This reading is found in most of the group α and λ_2 manuscripts, as well as the Paris edition of the text (see Table 8 below). While F49 lacks the chapter it likely originally contained the same reading. Nearly all of the λ_1 manuscripts have a variant that reads ‘contens au **reaume de France** et reaume de Grece’ [conflict with the Kingdom of France and the Kingdom of Greece]. The only exception from this group is F50, which gives the base reading. This may indicate that F50, dated c.1255–60, preserves a better reading than others within group λ_1 , though it shares features particular to this group, particularly F57, F73, and F77.

TABLE 8 12.1 A

Grece	F01 F02 F03 F05 F31 F35 F38 F50 F52 F69 F71 F74 F78
Reaume de France et...Grece	F57 F70 F72 F73 F77
Egypte	F06 F32 F33 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65
Persse	F34
Lack chapter—manuscripts mutilated	F33 F44 F46 F49

Nearly all of the group β manuscripts have an alternative reading of ‘et avoit **molt** grant contens au reaume d’**Egypte**’ [and had many great conflicts with the Kingdom of Egypt]. This reading is also found in the *RHC* edition of the text.

The only manuscript outside this group to share this reading is Fo4. This manuscript, as we have seen, shows some affinities to the β group of manuscripts throughout the text, enough to suggest that they were descended from a manuscript related to Fo4. That Fo4 shares such a significant variation indicates that it represents a stage in the development of the β group prior to the introduction of Book 15.22.

There are a few minor variants to the β reading for this chapter. Several manuscripts—F43, F45, F47, and F51—replace ‘contenz’ with ‘gent’; F53 also has a similar variant reading of ‘plent de gens’ [abundance of men]. None of the other manuscripts contains a similar variant at this point. Only the fifteenth-century F37 and F42 have another variant at this point, reading ‘debat’ [dispute]. Manuscripts F43, F45, and F51 also share other minor variants throughout the sample chapters, with F53 also linked to them. While none are particularly close, this reading indicates that they share a relationship that distinguishes them from the rest of the β manuscripts. The only manuscript with a significantly different reading is F34, which reads ‘contens au reaume de Persse’ [conflict with the Kingdom of Persia], although it is still clearly part of this group. It is uncertain when the alteration from ‘Grece’ to ‘Egypte’ was made, but it clearly occurred early within the manuscript tradition, as it occurs throughout the group with several of the manuscripts, such as F51, dating to the mid- to late thirteenth century. It seems likely that this variant entered the tradition prior to the additional readings found in Book 15.22 and can serve to characterise group β along with Fo4. While manuscript F34 does have the unique ‘Persse’ reading as well as a number of other variants, including the absence of the additional material found in Book 15.22, it still clearly belongs in this group.

A variation in spelling the name of Xerxes regularly occurs in this sentence. Edbury highlighted this variation by pointing out that several of the α manuscripts spell the name differently: Fo2, Fo3, Fo5, F38, and F41 have ‘Xersés’, while Fo1, Fo4, F31, and F52 read ‘Persés’⁷ (see note 1). While the ‘Xersés’ reading is found in those manuscripts, such as Fo2 and F38, that give the best readings of the original translation, the division in spelling does not appear to indicate a split in the manuscript tradition. Many of the β manuscripts include the spelling closest to the original, though some—F37, F40, F54, F60, F64, and F65—contain the ‘Persés’ reading. Among the λ manuscripts, only F74 and F78 contain the ‘Persés’ reading. Another variant of note is the ‘Cersés’ reading found in F34, F61, and F62. Although Edbury believes these variant readings

7 Edbury, ‘Translation’, p. 81.

important to the study of these manuscripts, the variant readings do not appear from this research instructive in analysing the manuscript stemma, though they may have a value for an investigation of particular scribes. Various readings may simply be scribal foibles, highlighted by the fact that F60 and F62, which are generally very close, have different readings. The former reads 'Persés', while the latter reads 'Cersés'.

Book 15 Chapter 22

Of all the sample chapters being considered, Book 15:22 presents the clearest indication of a division in the manuscript tradition. It highlights, in particular, the split between the β group and the rest by various additional readings that it alone contains. The analysis of this chapter employs F02 and F38 as its base, the manuscripts closest to the Latin text. The sections of text placed within square brackets represent additional material found only in the β manuscripts. The instances in which the β manuscripts consistently alter the wording of the text are highlighted in bold, while the variant appears in a footnote.

Based upon F02 and F38

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
F01 179v	F50 216r	F49 187r-v	F06 157v-158r	F47 100v-101r
F02 104v	F57 181v-182r	F69 165r-v	F30 131v-132r	F48 127r-v
F03 117r	F70 172r-v	F71 A141r	F32 118v-119r	F51 125r-v
F04 78v-79r	F72 171r-v	F74 220r-v	F33 149r-149v	F53 Lacks
F05 187r	F73 144r-v	F78 198r-v	F34 125r	F54 198r-v
F31 168v-169r	F77 168v-169r		F36 147r	F55 124r
F35 135r-v			F37 118v-119r	F58 148r-v
F38 97v-98r			F39 330-331	F60 151v-152r
F41 205v-206r			F40 100v	F61 139v
F52 142r			F42 189v-190r	F62 MS 22497 3r
			F43 143v	F63 153r
			F44 189v-190r	F64 174r-v
			F45 132r	F65 254v-255r
			F46 MS	
			mutilated	

Lors¹ ne demoura mie² que l'emperere vit le tens assouagier. Mes encore ne trouvoit l'en³ mie⁴ par les chans⁵ asses pasteures⁶ aux⁷ chevaux. Pour ce ne vout mie encores esmouvoir ses osts.⁸ Sur⁹ touz autres deduiz il amoit archoier¹⁰ en bois. Un jour avint qu'il i¹¹ fu alez¹² o pou de compaignie¹³ de chevaliers.¹⁴ Il se¹⁵ fu affustez¹⁶ et tint son arc¹⁷ tout¹⁸ tendu et une saiete encochie. Li veneour et li vallet¹⁹ l'empereour²⁰ orent aceint un buisson ou il avoit grant plente de bestes. Si les commencierent a adrecier tout droit²¹ vers le fust²² ou l'empereour se tenoit.²³ Uns senglers en issi premiers²⁴ trop granz²⁵ et passa devant²⁶ l'empereour. Quant²⁷ il le vit,²⁸

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- 1 Lors] A lors F43 F45.
 2 mie] gaires F05 F30 F44 F65; mie guaires F42.
 3 l'en F01 F33 F44 *lack*.
 4 mie] pas F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F70 F72; F40 *lacks*; point F65.
 5 par les chans] F43 F45 F51 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 F70 F72 *lack*.
 6 asses pasteures] herbe β.
 7 par les chans asses pasteures aux] herbe par les pres pour les F37 F42.
 8 ses osts] F30 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
 9 Sur] mais sor F31 F35.
 10 archoier] atraire F49; F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
 11 i] F01 F06 F30 F34 F42 F45 F54 F60 F61 F63 F65 λ1 λ2 *lack*.
 12 alez] alez chacier F01 F52 λ1 λ2; ales en bois F30 F42 F43.
 13 compaignie] compaignie en bois F33 F39.
 14 chevaliers] chevaliers en bois F45 F47 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 15 se] F34 F50 F57 F73 *lack*.
 16 affustez] bien montez F50; montez sor un bon chaceor F57 F73; arestes F72; monte F77.
 17 arc] arc en sa main F35.
 18 tout] F72 F74 *lack*.
 19 et li vallet F30 F36 *lack*; Li veneour et li vallet] Li escuier et li varlet et li veneour F60 F62; escuier et li veneour F61 F65; valet et li veneour F63.
 20 l'empereour] F36 F48 F54 *lack*.
 21 a adrecier tout droit] tout droit amener F01; tout droit adrecier F31 F35 F50 F57 F73 F77 λ2.
 22 vers le fust] la F06 F30 F32 F34 F36 F37 F40 F42 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F61 F64; cele part F31 F35; F33 F39 F43 F58 F60 F62 F63 F65 *lack*; vers la F64.
 23 se tenoit] estoit F06 F31 F35 F42; F30 F34 *lack*.
 24 premiers] F43 F74 *lack*.
 25 trop granz] F02 F30 *lack*; Uns senglers en issi premiers trop granz] un trop grant senglers s'en issi F70 F72.
 26 devant] par devant F42 F43.
 27 Quant] et quant F30 F31 F35.
 28 vit] vit venir vers lui F57 F73.

si grant volenté ot²⁹ de li doner³⁰ grant³¹ cop,³² que il entesa sa³³ saiete
 jusques³⁴ au fer au³⁵ descochier se navra en la main. La saiete estoit
 entouschiée.³⁶ Tantost³⁷ li venin li commenca a³⁸ corre parmi le bras³⁹
 si que il lui⁴⁰ enfla.⁴¹ Quant l'emperieurs senti⁴² qu'il estoit⁴³ ainsi
 bleciez du bois se⁴⁴ parti⁴⁵ isnelment⁴⁶ et vint en ses tentes. Lors envia
 querre les mires⁴⁷ dont il avoit⁴⁸ assez. [Dans⁴⁹ Hues de Pierrefons et
 Dans Gautier et tant des autres que je ne vous sauroie nommer. Que
 chascunz i venoit volantierz por si haut homme comme li emperieres
 iert.⁵⁰ Il en i ot un qui li dist] L'achaison⁵¹ de sa maladie **leur dist.**⁵²
 Cilz⁵³ quistrent⁵⁴ triaque et toutes les⁵⁵ choses par quoi ilz⁵⁶ cuiderent

-
- 29 si grant volenté ot] si ot si grant volent F31; si ot grante volenté F35.
 30 doner] ferir F52; li doner] doner li Fo6 F42 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F48 F51 F54
 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72; doner F47.
 31 grant] un F31.
 32 doner grant cop] ferir parmi le cors λ2.
 33 sa] la Fo2 Fo6 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F42 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F61 F64 F72;
 sa la Fo3.
 34 jusques] deschi F31 F35.
 35 au] et au F31 F57 F65.
 36 entouschiée] entoschiee de venin.
 37 Tantost] et tantost F31.
 38 commenca a] Fo3 F31 F35 *lack*.
 39 bras] bras contremont F57 F73.
 40 lui] F47 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
 41 enfla] enfla touz F31 F35.
 42 senti] entendi F50 F57 F73 F77; se senti F30 F33 F34 F36 F43 F44 F51 F58 F64 F65 F70 F72.
 43 qu'il estoit] F30 F44 F45 F51 F58 *lack*.
 44 se] s'en Fo6 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61
 F62 F63 F64 F65; si se F42.
 45 du bois se parti] si ce parti dou bois F31 F35; parti] retorna F43 F45 F51.
 46 du bois se parti isnelment] isnelment s'en parti dou bois F70 F72.
 47 mires] mieges F49 F71 F78.
 48 avoit] i avoit Fo1 Fo3 Fo4 Fo6 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54
 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65.
 49 Dans] Fo6 F44 *lack*.
 50 dont il i avoit...iert] et il i vindrent tantost F30 F34.
 51 l'achaison] et l'ochoison F31 F35.
 52 leur dist] β *lack*.
 53 avoit asses. L'achaison de sa maladie leur dist. Cilz] F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
 54 quistrent] pristrent Fo4 λ2 β.
 55 toutes les] autres F36 F44.
 56 par quoi ilz] F69 F74 *lack*.

restraindre⁵⁷ le venin.⁵⁸ Assez en parlerent⁵⁹ mes pou⁶⁰ lui⁶¹ firent d'aide⁶² car parmi le bras⁶³ estoit ja li venins expandus⁶⁴ ou cors.⁶⁵ Lors se commença plus⁶⁶ sentir agrevé⁶⁷ l'emperieres.⁶⁸ Li mire⁶⁹ pristrent conseil **entre eus**⁷⁰ et virent bien que toute la force de l'entouchement movoit⁷¹ de la main ou⁷² li cop avoit esté. Si se acorderent que, ancois que les autres⁷³ parties du corps fussent corrompues, l'en⁷⁴ lui copast la main⁷⁵ car autre⁷⁶ maniere⁷⁷ **de**⁷⁸ **garison ni s'avoient ilz**⁷⁹ **point**.⁸⁰ Quant l'emperierre oi ce, qui⁸¹ estoit hom⁸² de grant⁸³

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- 57 restraindre] destraindre F31 F35.
 58 restraindre le venin] le venin restraindre F49 F50 F69 F71; le venim retraire F74.
 59 parlerent] trouverent F70 F72.
 60 pou] ne F31, petit F49; riens F69 F71 F74 F78.
 61 lui] ne li F69 F71 F78.
 62 firent d'aide] aiderent F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 63 bras] bras li F61 F65.
 64 li venins expandus] expandu li venin F34 F43.
 65 expandus ou cors] ou cors estendus F31 F35.
 66 plus] Fo5 *lacks*.
 67 plus sentir agrevé] asentir plus greves F69 F71 F74; agrevé] fu greveze F61 F63; et grever F70 F72.
 68 li emperieres] Fo6 F65 *lack* sentir agrevé l'emperieres] a sentir l'empereres et a grever F31; mieges l'empereor F69 F71 F78; les mires l'empereour F74.
 69 mire] miege F49; maistre F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 70 entre eus] et assentirent F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F44 F45 F47 F48 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; Fo6 F42 F43 F51 *lack*.
 71 movoit] le venoit F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 72 ou] dont Fo6 F32 F39 F40 F43 F48 F51 F54 F55.
 73 les autres] une F43 F45; les une F51.
 74 corrompues l'en] entreprises com F31 F35; l'en] que l'en F42 43 F51 F57 F62 F69 F70 F71 F78.
 75 main] poing F57 F73; ou li cop...main] F61 F65 *lack*.
 76 autre] en autre Fo6 F39 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65.
 77 maniere] F34 F44 F77 *lack*.
 78 de] de nulle F70 F72.
 79 s'avoient ilz] veoient F43 F45 de garison nis'avoient ilz] ni avoit garison point F60 F62 F63; ni avoit garison nulle F61 F65.
 80 de garison ni s'avoient ilz point] n'achaoit point de garison Fo6; ni veoient il nulle garison F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F44 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F64; nulle garison point F37; ni chacoient il nulle garison F39 F40 F47 F48; ne veoient ilz mie de garison F42; end of chapter F31 F35.
 81 qui] qui moult F31 F35.
 82 hom] Fo4 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F74 *lack*.
 83 grant] bon Fo6 F32 F33 F37 F39 F40 F45 F48 F54 F55 F60 F62.

cuer,⁸⁴ bien dist⁸⁵: Qu'il sentoît la force du venin vers ses⁸⁶ entrailles et⁸⁷ grant angoisse souffroit. Mes⁸⁸ pour garir ne se⁸⁹ lairoyt il ja⁹⁰ copper la main. [Ce disoit il bien⁹¹ et certainement: le savoyt il que⁹² ja ne li avendroyt que il poist que ja la main li fust⁹³ coupée.] Car grant honte seroit⁹⁴ que⁹⁵ li empires⁹⁶ de Costantinoble⁹⁷ fust⁹⁸ gouvernez a⁹⁹ une main'. [Meismement¹⁰⁰ ne¹⁰¹ seroit pas droit ne raison¹⁰² a lui et¹⁰³ au peuple que il avoit¹⁰⁴ a gouverner car¹⁰⁵ trop a¹⁰⁶ affaire.] Quant¹⁰⁷ cele novele fu einssint¹⁰⁸ espandue¹⁰⁹ par l'ost, que leur sires¹¹⁰ [estoit¹¹¹ einssint¹¹²

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- 84 cuer] cuer et de vaillant F58 F64; oi ce qui estoit home de grant cuer] qui molt et bon cuer oy ce F34; qui estoit de grant cuer oyt ce F42; oy ce qui estoit hom de grant cuer] qui de grant cuer estoit oy ce F70 F72.
- 85 bien dist] si dist bien F31 F35.
- 86 vers ses] par les F70 F72.
- 87 et] F69 F74 F78 *lack*.
- 88 Mes] et F32 F33 F37 F40 F45 F47 F48 F51 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; F39 F43 *lack*.
- 89 se] F70 F72 F74 *lack*.
- 90 il ja] pas Fo6 F61 F63; ja] F32 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F54 *lack*; mie F42; pas F60; point F65 lairoyt il ja] laisseroit il pas F49; laissa pas F69 F71 F74 F78.
- 91 bien] Fo6 F30 F58 F64 *lack*.
- 92 le savoyt il que] F34 *lacks*; que] F37 F39 F40 *lack*.
- 93 li fust] n'avoyt F32 F37 F47 F48 F55 F58.
- 94 grant honte seroit] il seroit grant honte F57 F73.
- 95 que] se F49 F70.
- 96 empires] empereres Fo2 Fo6 F31 F32 F33 F35 F39 F42 F44 F47 F48 F50 F57 F61 F72 F73 F74 F77.
- 97 de Costantinoble] F58 F64 *lack*.
- 98 fust] seroit F31.
- 99 a] par F43 F51.
- 100 Meismement] ne F30 F43.
- 101 ne] que il ne F32 F37 F47 F60 F62; qui ne Fo6 F40 F45; ne il ne F51.
- 102 ne raison] F30 F55 F58 F64 *lack*; droit ne raison] raison ne droit F44.
- 103 et] ne Fo6 F32 F40 F42 F44 F45 F47 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
- 104 avoit] F47 F48 F51 F54 *lack*.
- 105 car] Fo6 F30 F33 *lack*.
- 106 a] avoit Fo6.
- 107 Quant] et quant Fo5.
- 108 einssint] F36 F37 F40 F44 F61 F63 F65 *lack*.
- 109 espandue] seue Fo6.
- 110 sires] l'empereur F36 F44; seigneur F42 F65 F70 F72.
- 111 estoit] se moroit F32 F37.
- 112 einssint] si F30; F33 F43 F45 F63 *lack*; si malement F34; en telle maniere F51 F64.

plaiez en la main et que il estoit einssint¹¹³ bleschiez et¹¹⁴ entouchiez del venim, que il] se mouroit ainsi,¹¹⁵ lors¹¹⁶ firent trop¹¹⁷ grant duel grant et petit¹¹⁸ [et riches et pauvres].¹¹⁹ Mainte¹²⁰ priere firent a Nostre Seigneur que santé lui envoiait¹²¹ se il les en¹²² vousist oïr.¹²³

[Not long after that time the emperor saw that the weather had become calmer. But he still could not yet find enough pasture in the fields for his horses. So he still did not wish to move his army. Above all other pastimes he loved to hunt in the forest. It happened one day that he went off with a small company of knights. He took up position and held his bow fully drawn with an arrow notched. The emperor's hunstmen and his youths had surrounded a thicket where there were a great number of beasts. Thus they began to move straight towards the tree where the emperor was waiting. A very large boar came out first and passed before the emperor. When he saw it, so great was his desire to give it a great blow, that he drew his arrow until the tip flew and he wounded himself in the hand. The arrow was poisoned. Immediately the venom began to spread through the arm so that it was swollen. When the emperor realized that he had been wounded, he swiftly left the forest and came into his tents. Then he sent to enquire of the doctors of whom he had enough. [Lord Hugh de Pierrefons and Lord Walter and all of the others that I would not name for you. Each one came there willingly for so exalted a man as the emperor. There was one to whom he told] the cause for his illness. They sought an antidote and tried everything by which they might restrain the venom. They had plenty to say, but they did little to aid him because the venom was spreading through his arm into his body. Then the emperor began to feel worse. The doctors took counsel amongst themselves and said that all the force of the poison would move from the hand where the

113 einssint] F39 F41 F43 F47 F48 F51 F60 *lack*; si Fo6 F32 F61 F63 F65.

114 einssint bleschiez et] si F30 F34.

115 ainsi] illuec einssi F31.

116 lors] si F31 F35.

117 trop] F03 F06 F30 F31 F32 F33 F34 F35 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72 *lack*.

118 grant et petit] petite et grant F06 F31 F34 F35 λ1.

119 grant et petite et riches et pauvres] riches et pauvres et petite et grand F58 F64; riches et pauvres] li poure et li rice F30 F42; F44 F65 *lack*; petit et grant et poure et riche F48.

120 Mainte] et maintes F42 F49 F65.

121 envoiait] vosist F52.

122 en] F57 F06 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.

123 oïr] oy ne escouter F42; oïr de leur preres F69 F71 F74 F78.

wound had been. So they agreed that, before they other parts of the body should become corrupted, he should cut off his hand, for they had no other form of remedy at all. When the emperor, who was a man of great heart, heard this he said that he felt the force of the venom moving towards his entrails and he suffered great anguish. But for a cure he would never let them cut off his hand. [This he said well and decidedly: he knew it should never happen that he should allow his hand to be cut off. For there would be great shame if the empire of Constantinople were to be governed by one hand. Also it did not seem right nor reasonable to him nor to the people that he should govern in such a condition.] When this news had thus spread through the host that their lord [who was thus wounded in the hand and that he was thus wounded and poisoned by the venom, so that] he would in this way die, then they made such a great grief, both great and small [rich and poor]. Many made prayers to Our Lord, if he should hear them, that he would send him health.

This sample covers the whole of Book 15.22, an account of the mortal wound suffered by the Byzantine emperor, John II Komnenos (1118–43), while hunting near Antioch. The chapter is of particular importance because it is one of the few places where the French provides information not found in the Latin text, i.e., the names of the doctors who treated the emperor. Both modern editions contain these names,¹²⁴ although Paris put the names in brackets and noted in his edition that ‘ce qui est entre crochets ne se trouve pas dans la plupart des manuscrits, et est ajouté au texte de Guillaume de Tyr’¹²⁵ [that which is in brackets is not found in the majority of the manuscripts, it has been added to the text of William of Tyre]. It became clear in the course of my research, however, that there were a number of *Eracles* manuscripts that did not contain the names of these doctors, manuscripts that also contained additional stylistic material further emphasising the valour of the emperor once he knew the severity of his wound. This material was not included in the Paris edition and only partially in the *RHC* edition.

There are two distinct traditions in the manuscripts, despite the wide variety of dates and provenances, with manuscripts from both groups dating from between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries and originating in England, France, Italy, and the Latin East. All manuscripts not containing the names of the doctors are in groups α and λ —i.e., all of those in Edbury’s α group. The β

¹²⁴ Paris, 15.22 vol. 2 p. 80; *RHC*, 15.22 p. 693.

¹²⁵ Paris, vol. 2 p. 80 n. 2.

manuscripts all contain the names of the doctors and were copied in the West, with the exception of Fo6, the only β manuscript that Folda attributed to an Eastern provenance.¹²⁶ The provenance of this manuscript remains questionable, perhaps Italian, though regarding the fleet that came to Sidon in correcting 'Acre' to 'Ascalon', it could support an Eastern origin or, at least, an understanding of the situation in the East at that time. Whatever its place of origin, it is clearly a member of the β group of manuscripts that was dominant in the West but not in the East.

Like the change from 'Grece' to 'Egypte' noted in the analysis of Book 12.1, the presence or absence of the doctors' names conforms to the basic division between the β group of manuscripts and the α and λ groups. All the group α and λ manuscripts, with a few minor variants, read 'Lors envoya querre les mires dont il avoit assez l'achoisson de sa maladie **leur** dist. Cilz **quistrent** triaque' [Then he sent to enquire of the doctors of whom he had enough (and) told them the reason of his illness. They sought a treatment]. Manuscript Fo4 provides a notable variant among the group α manuscripts, replacing 'quistrent' [they sought] with 'pristrent' [they took] (see note 54). This alternative reading is also common to the β group manuscripts and the entire λ_2 group, while group λ_1 retains the 'quistrent' reading. This is another instance in which Fo4 appears linked with the β group. The β manuscripts, with a few minor variants, read 'Lors envoya querre les mires dont il i avoit assez **Dans Hues de Pierrefons et Dans Gautier et tant des autres que je ne vous savroie nommer que chascunz i venoit volentierz por si haut homme comme li empieres iert il en i ot un qui li dist** l'achoisson de sa maladie. Cil **pristrent** triacle' [Then he sent to enquire of the doctors of whom he had enough. Lord Hugh de Pierrefons and Lord Walter and all of the others that I cannot name for you. Each one came there willingly for the emperor was such a worthy man. There was one of them that he told the cause of his illness. They took treatment.]. Manuscript F36 alone among the group β manuscripts lacks the names of the doctors. It is a late manuscript, dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and contains numerous variant readings, and, in particular, this chapter is abridged. The manuscript does, however, maintain some of the group β readings, such as 'il en i eut ung qui dist', which puts it in this group that indicates a single doctor diagnosing the illness rather than a plural, which is the case for the α and λ manuscripts.

126 J. Folda, 'A Crusader Manuscript from Antioch', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, Ser. 3, *Rendiconti* 42 (1969–70), pp. 283–98; J. Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, From the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre, 1187–1291* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 348.

The *RHC* edition includes the entirety of this reading about the doctors,¹²⁷ while the Paris edition only includes the portion that includes the names, marked by brackets in the text. As a result, the edition reads ‘Lors envioia querre les mires [dont il i avoit assez: dans Hues de Pierefont, dans Gautiers et tant des autres que je ne vos sai nomer;] l’achaison de sa maladie leur dist’.¹²⁸ Apart from the insertion of the doctors’ names, the Paris edition matches the readings from the α and λ manuscripts, consistent with the manuscripts that Paris used as his base—F31 and F52. He did, however, also use F58¹²⁹ and made frequent reference to the *RHC* edition.¹³⁰ It seems likely that Paris added the names of the doctors from their presence in the *RHC* edition, and possibly in other manuscripts not specifically mentioned.

There is also another minor variant in this chapter that divides group β from the rest of the manuscripts, simply a word-choice replacement. However, it always coincides with the addition of the new material and can be used as a marker for this group. It occurs in the discussion that the emperor was not able to find any pasture for his horses in the spring and as a result was unwilling to move his army, which led to him deciding to go on a hunt. All the manuscripts from groups α and λ use the term ‘pasteures’ [fodder], while all the β group manuscripts use ‘herbe’ [grass]. This variant is useful in confirming that some of the fifteenth-century manuscripts—F36 and F44, which are heavily abridged and lack the doctor’s names—do in fact belong with the β manuscripts. These manuscripts also contain the ‘Egypte’ reading in Book 12.1.

In addition to the names of the doctors there are other passages found in this chapter in the β manuscripts that are not present in any of the α or λ manuscripts; these occur towards the end of the chapter and extol the virtues of the emperor. In general, the α and λ group manuscripts read:

mais pour garir ne se lairoit il ja coper la main: car grant honte seroit que li empires de Costentinoble fust gouvernez a une main. Quant cele nov-ele fu espandue par l’ost que leur sires se mouroit ainsi lors firent trop grant duel grant et petit.

[But he would never allow his hand to be cut off as a cure. For it would bring great shame if the empire of Constantinople should be governed by one hand. When the news had then spread spread through the host, that

127 *RHC*, 15.22 p. 693.

128 Paris, 15.22 vol. 2 p. 80.

129 Paris, 1.27 vol. 1 p. 49 n.2; 3.19 vol. 1 p. 111 n. 3.

130 Paris, 11.14 vol. 1 p. 402 n. 4.

their lord would in this way die, then both great and small made such great grief.]

The β group manuscripts add to this.

mes pour garir ne se leroit il ja coper la main. **Ce disoit il bien et certainement le savoit il que ja ne li avendroit que il poist que ja la main li fust coupée.** Car granz hontes seroit se li empires de Costantinople estoit governez a une main; **meismement ne seroit pas droit ne raison a lui et au peuple que il avoit a gouverner car trop a affaire.** Quant cele novele fu einssint espandue parmi l'ost que leur sires **estoit einssint plaiez en la main et que il estoit einssint blesciez et entouchiez del venim que il se moroit** Lors firent grant duel grand et petite **et riches et pauvres.**

[But he would never allow his hand to be cut off as a cure. This he said well and certainly, <for> he knew that he could never allow it to happen that his hand should be cut off. For it would bring great shame if the empire of Constantinople should be governed by one hand; also it did not seem right nor reasonable to him nor to the people that he should govern in such a condition When this news had then spread through the host, that their lord (who was thus wounded in the hand and that he was thus wounded and poisoned by the venom, that) would in this way die, then great and small, rich and poor made great grief.]

Many of the β group manuscripts lack a few words from additional passages, but they are wholly lacking from the α and λ group manuscripts. At this point William's text reads:

posse adhiberi remedium si lesa manus...imperiali tamen maiestate constanter observata spreuit et respondisse dictur indignum esse Romanum imperium ut una manu regatur. Sinistro igitur eventu, et quo periculosior intervenire nullus poterat, attonitus concutitur exercitus omnis et pro tanti principis defectu dolor universas occupat legiones, meror et anxietas corda sibi vendicant singulorum et castra omnino insperata replent amaritudine.¹³¹

[could provide a remedy by his hand being cut off...it would be constantly regarded as shameful to the imperial majesty, and he is said to have replied that it would be unworthy for the Roman Empire to be ruled by one hand. Because of this unfortunate event, and because nothing

131 WT, 15.22 lines 19–30.

more dangerous could arise, the whole army was alarmed, and, for the loss of so great a prince, grief seized all the legions, grief and anxiousness of heart overtook each one and the whole camp in every way was filled with bitterness.]

The additions seem to have been more of a stylistic embellishment, rather than providing information not present in the Latin. The lack of ‘right or reason’ or ‘rich or poor’, and the fact that these phrases are found only within the β group manuscripts, indicates that these passages have been added to the original text of the translation and are simply attempts by a later scribe to liven the passage and to enhance a general sense of grief.

These passages are entirely absent from the Paris edition and only partially present in the *RHC* edition, which reads:

et por garir ne se leroit il **pas** couper le braz: **ce disoit bien certainement que ja ne li avendroit que il peust que la mein eust coupée**, quar grant honte seroit que li empires de Costantinoble fust governez **par** une mein, **n’il ne seroit pas resons a lui ne au pueple qu’il a a gouverner, quar trop a afere**. Quant cele novele fu einssint espadue par l’ost, que leur sires avoit esté **plaiez en la mein, et qu’il estoit si bleciez et entouchiez de venin qu’il se moroit**, lors firent duel grant et petit et riche et povre.¹³²

The *RHC* edition here contains a version of the passage that, as elsewhere, exactly matches that found in F45, with F43 containing a similar reading. The Paris edition contains an additional reading, ‘lors firent trop gran duel **par l’ost**, que leur sires’, that is not present in any of the extant manuscripts.¹³³

Several of the group β manuscripts—such as F30, F33, F39, F42, F43, F45, F47, F54, F60, F61, F62, F63, and F65—also add the phrase ‘en bois’, although at differing points in the text (see notes 12–14). This phrase is completely lacking from groups α and λ but is present in both the *RHC* and Paris editions.¹³⁴ This reading is another not found in Paris’s base manuscripts, F31 and F52, and seems to be an instance in which he has introduced a reading from the *RHC* into his edition. While the phrase ‘en bois’ is present in several manuscripts from this group, including some early ones, it is not a reading that it is characteristic of the β group as a whole and may instead represent an affinity between particular manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts are clearly related and can

¹³² *RHC*, 15.22 p. 694.

¹³³ Paris, 15.22 vol. 2 p. 80.

¹³⁴ *RHC*, 15.22 p. 693; Paris, 15.22 vol. 2 p. 79.

be considered to form subgroups—F60, F61, F62, F63, and F65 are all close, while F43 and F45 share features. Manuscript F54 does not seem to be closely related to any of the other manuscripts that contain the phrase ‘en bois’. Instead, it seems more likely that the addition of this phrase was a stylistic addition made by scribes who inserted it at various places. The phrase ‘en bois’ is found in different points of the text in manuscripts F43 and F45.

The large majority of β group manuscripts, with only the exception of Fo6, lack ‘hom’ (see note 82) and read ‘et’ instead of ‘mes’ (see note 88). The absence of ‘hom’ is shared by Fo4, a further indication of a connection between Fo4 and the majority of β group. Manuscript Fo6 contains several variant readings that would appear to distance it from the rest of the group, this particular variant being one of them, but elsewhere it contains all the significant readings that serve to identify the group β manuscripts. This again may be an indication that this manuscript may be the sole survivor of a distinctive branch of the manuscript tradition while the rest of the β manuscripts have a Western provenance, or may represent a very early form of this version of the text. While Fo4 appears to represent a mid-point between the original translation and the development of the β manuscripts, at which point the additional information about the doctors in Book 15.22 was added, the absence of the word ‘hom’ from Fo4 and from the β group may have arisen independently, except Fo6. Thus Fo4 would appear to represent an intermediate stage between the group α and group β manuscripts, and Fo6 is clearly isolated within the β branch of the manuscript stemma.

As well as the readings that distinguish the β group manuscripts, there are some that are unique to the Eastern λ group manuscripts. While there is no major variant that distinguishes group λ_1 —such as the addition of ‘reaume de France et’ in Book 12.1—the group does share a few readings found only in a few manuscripts from other groups, generally consisting of rephrasing or reordering the words. In particular, they all read ‘alez chacier’ instead of ‘alez’. In addition to the manuscripts from group λ_1 , this reading is found in the α manuscripts Fo1 and F52, which share similar readings elsewhere, all the λ_2 group except for F67, F68 and F69, and is completely absent from those group β manuscripts that have the variant ‘en bois’. The addition of ‘chacier’ makes sense within the context of the passage and could possibly represent an earlier version of the text. However, apart from the λ group, it is present only in two manuscripts, Fo1 and F52, neither of which, late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries respectively, is particularly early or particularly close to the Latin. Those α manuscripts that elsewhere appear to have a better reading of the text, such as Fo2 and F38, simply read ‘alez’. As a result, it seems more likely that ‘chacier’ was a later addition and might indicate an affinity between a precursor of Fo1 and F52 and the λ group.

The majority of the λ_2 group manuscripts are characterised by an addition at the end of the chapter: F69, F71, F74, and F78 all read ‘se il les en vousist oïr **de leur preres**’ [if he should hear their prayers]. The only manuscript from this group that does not include this reading is F49. However, this manuscript elsewhere contains readings that link it with the rest of the manuscripts in this group, such as replacing ‘quistrent’ with ‘pristrent’. All the manuscripts from this group, including F49, also replace ‘doner grant cop’ [to give a great blow] with ‘ferir parmi le cors’ [to strike through the body], and this reading distinguishes group λ_2 from the rest of the *Eracles* manuscripts. This group also has another similarity to the β group in replacing ‘lairoit il ja’ with ‘laisa pas’, while F49 has ‘laisseroit il pas’. On the basis of this evidence, F49 would appear to belong in this group though not particularly close to the other λ_2 manuscripts.

The group α manuscripts generally keep close to the base reading for this chapter, making it difficult to establish the relationship between them at this point in the text. The few variants tend to be minor, with the exception of the ‘alez chacier’ reading in Fo1 and F52. At the same time, F31 and F35 share a number of distinctive readings, both within this chapter and in the others, as well as similar iconography in their miniatures.¹³⁵ These two manuscripts are also unique in dividing this chapter in two. Many of the changes are generally minor and involve simple alterations to the word order or variant spellings. The fact, however, that these two manuscripts share so many variants shows that they are closely related. Neither, however, is derived from the other: F31 contains a few variant readings not found in F35 and also lacks ‘...mi le bras estoit ja li venins’, which is present in F35. The text here should read ‘mes pu li firent d’aide car parmi le bras estoit ja li venins espandus ou corps’ [they did little to aid him because the venom was spreading through the arm into the body]. The text is only missing six words and part of a seventh. In F31 ‘car par...’ occurs at the end of the last line of folio 168vb, at the end of the signature. The missing text should therefore appear on the first line of the next folio. However, folio 169ra reads ‘ou cors estendus’, a variant of ‘espandus ou corps’. It may be the case that the scribe forgot these few words when changing folios, but it is not an obvious case of homoteleton.

There are a number of manuscripts that replace ‘empires’ [empire] with a variant of ‘empereres’ [emperor] (see note 96). These include Fo2, F31, and F35 from group α ; F50, F57, F72, F73, and F77 from group λ_1 ; F74 from group λ_2 ; along with Fo6, F32, F33, F39, F42, F44, F45, F47, F48, and F65 from group β . In

135 Edbury, ‘Translation’, pp. 71–80; J. Folda, *Crusader Manuscript Illumination at Saint-Jean d’Acre, 1275–1291* (Princeton, 1976), p. 148.

addition, F62 also originally contained 'empereres' but what looks to be a similar hand has corrected it to 'empires', which brings it into line with the majority of the manuscripts. The entire phrase 'que li empires de Costantinoble fust gouvernez a une main' clearly refers to the Byzantine Empire as a whole rather than specifically to the emperor. The 'empereres' reading, as a result, is clearly an error. The correct reading should be 'empires'.

It is possible within this chapter to detect a few affinities between manuscripts from group β . In particular, F60 and F62 appear to have a close relationship. They both contain the additional readings such as 'en bois', and both replace 'li veneor et li valet' [the huntsmen and the youths] with 'li escuier et li varlet et li veneour' [the squires, the youths and the huntsmen] as well as 'mire' [doctor/surgeon] with 'maistre' [master]¹³⁶ (see notes 19 and 69). They also have a number of minor variants in common, and both lack 'par les chans' (see note 5). Many of the other manuscripts with the *Rothelin Continuation* also appear to be related to F60 and F62, in particular F61, F63, and F65. These three manuscripts also lack 'par les chans', contain the additional 'en bois', and contain the 'maistre' reading; F45 also contains most of these readings but does not contain the same variants as elsewhere in the chapter. The *RHC* edition reproduces the variants found in F45¹³⁷; F61 and F65 contain a variant on 'li veneor et li valet', reading 'escuier et li veneour'; while F63 reads 'li valet et li veneour'. Both of these variants bear a resemblance to the variant reading in F60 and F62. Manuscripts F61 and F65 also share unique rubrics for each chapter. The rubric for Book 15:22 reads 'Comment l'empereur entraine une sayette a une pors sangler se navre et la prinst la cause dont il morut' [How the emperor drew an arrow at a wild boar, wounded himself and this was the cause of his death]. However, they each have variant readings not found in the other, and neither can be derived from the other, although they evidently share a common ancestor.

The modern editions of the *Eracles* text maintain this distinct tradition of the two manuscript groups. The Paulin Paris edition, for the most part, follows the α group and the *RHC* edition mostly the β group. However, there are inconsistencies with both. Where the Paris edition parts company from the α group, it has some of the additional readings found in the β group, most notably the doctors' names, seemingly taken from the *RHC* edition. But it does not include any of the other additions in that chapter that are always present in the manuscripts of that group. The *RHC* edition includes the doctors' names and most, but not all, of the other readings that always accompany them, and lacks some

136 For medical titles during this period, see Mitchell, pp. 11–17.

137 *RHC*, 15.22 p. 693.

of other additions. The only manuscript to lack the same sections as the *RHC* edition is F45. It is unlikely that these omissions are coincidental as elsewhere the *RHC* edition also includes additions not found in any other manuscript except for F45.

There is a clear division in the manuscript tradition between the group β manuscripts that contain the additional material regarding the doctors of Emperor John II and the group α manuscripts that do not. In this manner, the manuscripts that most closely mirror the Latin text and would appear to be closest to the original form of the translation are all found within group α . The grouping of the manuscripts, on the basis of this passage, coincides with Edbury's findings, based on a comparison of the chapter divisions throughout the entire text. The subsequent subdivision of this group into α and λ , based on the readings in other chapters, does not alter the fact that these two groups contain an earlier reading of the text for this chapter. The development of the λ group independent from the β group suggests that the remaining α manuscripts contain the form of the text from which both of the main branches of the stemma developed. It also appears that the division in the manuscripts appeared early in the process of transmission with the introduction of new material. The λ group tradition was dominant in the Latin East, and the group β tradition, characterised by the doctors' names, appears to have been dominant in the West, with most of the surviving manuscripts belonging in this group.

With regard to the modern editions, it is clear that the *RHC* edition is based on this secondary β tradition. The edition, however, is based on manuscripts that are significantly removed from what the base β group reading. The β manuscript Fo6 contains several variants from the readings found in the α manuscripts Fo2, Fo5, and F38 that indicate a division between the groups of manuscripts. While Fo6 contains several errors and distinctive readings that separate it from the rest of the β manuscripts, most of the significant variants are found in the β manuscripts and, to some extent, the *RHC* edition. The Paris edition appears to have been primarily based on the earlier α tradition, but it too has erroneous readings, and the editor appears to have inserted material from the previous edition that was not found in the manuscripts he was using.

Book 20 Chapter 11

Based on F02 and F38

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
F01 MS	F50 306r-v	F49 267v-268r	F06 222v-223r	F47 MS
mutilated	F57 263r-v	F69 238r-v	F30 192v-193r	mutilated
F02 146r	F70 221v	F71 B2or	F32 172r-v	F48 181v
F03 162v	F72 243r-v	F74 311v-312r	F33 199v-200r	F51 177v-178r
F04 110r	F73 209v	F78 277r-v	F34 180r-v	F53 238v-239r
F05 267v268r	F77 231v-232r		F36 188v-189r	F54 278r-v
F31 241v			F37 345r-v	F55 196r-v
F35 183v			F39 475-476	F58 216v217r
F38 146r				F60 214r
F41 MS			F40 149v	F61 193v
mutilated			F42 324v-325r	
F52 201v-202r			F43 206v-207r	F62 B66v-67r
			F44 259r-v	F63 216r
			F45 189r-v	F64 254v-246r
			F46 110r-v	F65 345v-346r

Puis que li rois¹ fu retornez² en son reaume au commencement de cel an,
n'avint guerres chose en la terre³ qui face a raconter, se ce non que lors fu
mors Reniers⁴ l'evesques de Lidde et⁵ en son lieu fu esleuz et⁶ sacrez

1 rois] rois amaurris F30 F37.
2 retornez] retornes en son pays et F49 F69 F71 F78.
3 en la terre] F02 F49 F50 F53 F69 F71 F77 F78 *lack*.
4 Reniers] F58 F65 *lack*; Ieuses F60 F61 F62 F63.
5 et] λ_1 F03 F46 F49 F54 F55 F58 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
6 esleuz et] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; mis F44 F53 F55 F58 F64.

Bernarz l'abbé de Monte Tabor.⁷ Apres quant⁸ li⁹ novieau tens fu venus, ce fu au¹⁰ commencement du¹¹ sixte an du reaume le¹² roi Amauri,¹³ li baron de la terre de Surie,¹⁴ cils qui plus sage estoient,¹⁵ se penserent¹⁶ que mout estoit en grant peril toute¹⁷ la crestiente de la terre,¹⁸ parce que cils puissant home¹⁹ Noradins, qui assez mauls²⁰ leur avoit fait²¹ par maintes fois,²² avoit²³ ores a sa volenté le reaume d'Egypte, si²⁴ que il pooit²⁵ venir sur les nostre²⁶ par²⁷ mer et par terre²⁸ et²⁹ destraindre³⁰ toute la terre en maintes manieres,³¹ et faire tant que par mer³² ne porroit l'en³³ venir seurement³⁴ en Jherusalem,³⁵ qui estoit encore li

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- 7 fu esleuz et...Tabor] Bernarz l'abé de monte tabor et sacrez a evesque F49 F69 F71 F78; en fist ou un autre F50 F57; fu esleus bernart l'abé de monte tabor et sacrez a evesque F70 F72; F73 F77 *lack*; apres lui fu mis un autres de cui je ne sai pas le nom F74; lieu fu esleuz... Monte Ta...] F60 F61 F62 F63 *lack* (en son |bor); en son lieu...Tabor] F65 *lacks*.
- 8 quant] au F31 F35.
- 9 quant li] que il F49 F69 F71.
- 10 au] le F36; F32 F37 *lack*; ce fu au] F44 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.
- 11 commencement du] F04 F71 F70 F72 β *lack*.
- 12 le] dou F57 F73.
- 13 quant li nouveau....Amauri] au novel tant F31 F35.
- 14 de Surie] β *lack*.
- 15 cils qui plus sage estoient] F31 F35 *lack*.
- 16 penserent] por penserent F49 F69 F71 F78.
- 17 toute] F31 F35 F43 *lack*.
- 18 de la terre] F50 F65 *lack*.
- 19 cils puissant home] F03 F31 F35 F44 *lack*.
- 20 mauls] F70 F72 *lack*.
- 21 mauls leur avoit fait] leur avoit fait maus F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F46 F48 F51 F54 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63; leur avoit fait de mal et de dommage F37; leur avoit mal fait F55; fait] done F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78.
- 22 qui asses mauls leur avoit fait par maintes fois]; F03 F31 F35 *lack*; par maintes fois] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.
- 23 avoit] affaire avoit F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78.
- 24 si] tellement F37 F42.
- 25 si que il pooit] por F03 F31 F35.
- 26 les nostre] nos gens F36 F37 F42.
- 27 par] et par F49 F69 F78.
- 28 et par terre] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*; mer et par terre] terre et par mer F77.
- 29 et] et por aus F03; aus miese F31; por aus miels et F35.
- 30 destraindre] constrandre F37 F42.
- 31 toute la terre en maintes manieres] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
- 32 par mer] pelerins F49 F69 F78; sur les nostre par mer] par mer sus le nos F60 F62 F63.
- 33 l'en] F37 F46 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
- 34 seurement] λ1 λ2 F03 F31 F35 F43 F53 F64 *lack*.
- 35 seurement en Jherusalem] en Jerusalem seurement F34 F60 F61 F62 F63.

graindres³⁶ perils pour la grant plainté des galées et des nés³⁷ que cil avoit sur mer.³⁸ Pour ce deviserent li preudome, que bien³⁹ seroit metiers, que l'en envoiait és terres⁴⁰ devers Occident des meilleurs prelas⁴¹ du país⁴² qui bien⁴³ seussent moustrer⁴⁴ aux⁴⁵ princes bons crestiens⁴⁶ le mesaise et⁴⁷ le peril⁴⁸ de la Sainte⁴⁹ terre⁵⁰ et leur requissent de par Nostre Seigneur⁵¹ que secorre le venissent⁵² en⁵³ son⁵⁴ heritage.⁵⁵ Car par leurs gens⁵⁶ avoit esté maintes fois li reaumes de Surie⁵⁷ aidez et maintenuz.⁵⁸ A ce messaige faire furent esleu⁵⁹ li patriarches de Jherusalem, Amaurris,⁶⁰ li arcevesque de Cesaie,⁶¹

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- 36 graindres] plus grant F70 F72; encore li graindres] ore li plus grans F49 F69 F71 F78.
 37 galées et des nés] nés et de galies F30 F34 F49 F50 F57 F69 F70 F71 F72 F74 F77 F78.
 38 pour la grant plainté des galées et des nés que cil avoit sur mer] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 39 bien] F36 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.
 40 és terres] F03 F35 *lack*.
 41 prelas] chevaliers F53 F55 F58 F64.
 42 du país] F49 F69 F71 F72 F78 *lack*.
 43 bien] maius F49 F69 F71 F78.
 44 moustrer] mostrer et conter F49 F69 F71 F78.
 45 aux] as barons et as F49 F69 F71 F78.
 46 bons crestiens] F03 F36 F49 F65 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
 47 le mesaise et] F34 F36 *lack*.
 48 et li peril] F70 F72 *lack*; peril] grant perill F49 F69 F71 F78.
 49 Sainte] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 50 Sainte terre] terre sainte F36 F38; sainte terre d'outremer F53 F58.
 51 de par Nostre Seigneur] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 52 secorre le venissent] il li venissent secourre F49 F50 F57 F69 F71 F77 F78; les venissent secorre F63 F70 F72.
 53 en] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*.
 54 son] leur F43 F45 F51.
 55 en son heritage] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 56 gens] les vaillans predecesseurs F37 F42; encesseurs F54; leurs gens] F60 F61 F63 *lack*.
 57 de Surie] F06 F51 *lack*; avoit esté maintes...Surie] maintes fois avoit esté li roiaumes de Surie F32 F60 F62; car par leurs...Surie] maintes fois avoit esté li reaume de surie par lor genz F49 F69 F71 F78.
 58 avoit esté maintes...maintenuz] avoit maintes foiz este li roiaumes de Surie aidez F03; avoit esté li roiaumes de Surie maintes foiz aidez F31 F35; maintenuz] secourra F37 F42 F53 F54 F55 F58; maintes fois avoit esté li roaumes de Surie aidies et maintenus F61 F63.
 59 A ce messaige faire furent esleu] Esleu furent F03; Eslieu furent por ceste besoinge affaire F31 F35 (split chapter).
 60 patriarches de Jherusalem, Amaurris] patriarches amaurris de Jherusalem F30 F44; Amauri patriarche de Jerusalem F32 F36 F70 F72.
 61 Cesaie] Sur F50.

Herneis,⁶² et⁶³ Guillaume l'evesque d'Acre.⁶⁴ L'en leur encharja nommement⁶⁵ que il⁶⁶ s'en⁶⁷ alaissent pour moustrer ceste chose⁶⁸ a l'empereur Ferri⁶⁹ d'Alemaigne,⁷⁰ au⁷¹ roi Loos⁷² de France, au⁷³ roi Henri⁷⁴ d'Engleterre, au⁷⁵ roi Guillaume de Sezille. Et leur dist⁷⁶ l'en⁷⁷ que il⁷⁸ parlissent⁷⁹ de ce meismes⁸⁰ aux meneurs⁸¹ barons⁸²: au conte Phelippe de Flandres, au⁸³ conte⁸⁴ Henri de Champaigne, au⁸⁵ conte Tiebaut⁸⁶ de Blois, et aux⁸⁷ autres⁸⁸ de ces terres.⁸⁹ Cils atornerent leur voie⁹⁰ et monterent sur⁹¹ mer et se

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- 62 Herneis] Arnoulz Foz; li arcevesque de Cesaire Herneis] li evesque de Sayete Henri F49 F69 F71 F78; et Hernaüs l'arcevesque de Cesaire F70 F74.
63 et] F40 F43 F74 *lack*.
64 Herneis et Guillaume l'evesque d'Acre] F50 *lacks*.
65 nommement] F03 F31 F35 F57 *lack*.
66 il] F02 F05 F32 F33 F40 *lack*.
67 s'en] F49 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
68 pour moustrer ceste chose] premierelement λ2; chose] besongne F37 F42.
69 Ferri] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
70 ceste chose a l'empereur Ferri d'Alemaigne] a l'empereor Ferri d'Alemaigne ceste chose F32 F33 F61 F63.
71 au] et au F35 F51 F74.
72 Loos] Ferris F02; F03 F31 F35 F65 *lack*.
73 au] et au F30 F34 F35 F65 F74.
74 Henri] F03 F31 F35 F65 *lack*.
75 au] et au F34 F35 F37 F65 F74.
76 dist] charga F37 F42.
77 l'en] F03 F31 F35 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
78 il] F02 F04 F50 *lack*.
79 parlissent de] moustraissent F60 F61 F62 F63.
80 meismes] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
81 meneurs] F37 F42 F53 *lack*; meillors F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78.
82 barons] barons de c'est assavoir F37 F42.
83 au] et au λ2.
84 au conte] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.
85 au] et au F34 F44 F49 F69 F71 F78.
86 Tiebaut] F31 F35 F65 *lack*; F49 F69 F71 F78.
87 aux] a toz F49 F69 F71 F78.
88 autres] autres barons F69 F70 F71 F72 F78; maintes autres qui point ne sont icy nomines F37 F42.
89 de ces terres] F03 F31 F35 F36 F37 F42 F54 F55 *lack*; autres de ces terres] leurs barons F65.
90 atornerent leur voie] vinrent F03 F31 F35; F36 *lacks*; Cils aturnerent leur voie] ces prelatz devant nominez ordonnerent leur partement] F37 F42; voie] affaire F44 F49 F69 F71 F78; oirre F50 F57 F72 F77; meute F74.
91 monterent sur] entrerent en F30 F36 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; mistrent en F34 F58; monterent en F44.

partirent du port.⁹² Mes la seconde nuit⁹³ sordi une tempeste trop grant⁹⁴ si,⁹⁵ que leur mas pecoia⁹⁶ les⁹⁷ gouvernails froisserent⁹⁸ les nés meismes⁹⁹ fendu, si que par grant peril s'en eschaperent et revindrent au tiers jour¹⁰⁰ au port.¹⁰¹ En¹⁰² nulle guisse¹⁰³ ne peussent puis¹⁰⁴ estre mis¹⁰⁵ a ce¹⁰⁶ qu'ilz alaissent¹⁰⁷ la si que il¹⁰⁸ covint a¹⁰⁹ eslire autre gent. Par la grant¹¹⁰ priere le roi et¹¹¹ des autres¹¹² barons, emprist a faire¹¹³ ce message¹¹⁴ l'arcevesques Ferris de Sur¹¹⁵ et mena avecques lui Jehan¹¹⁶ l'evesque¹¹⁷ de Belinas, qui estoit uns de ses evesques.¹¹⁸ Cils orent meilleur vent¹¹⁹

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- 92 et se partirent du port] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; port] port d'acre F49 F69 F71 F78.
 93 nuit] nuit apres F37 F42; jor F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78.
 94 tempeste trop grant] trop grant tempeste F60 F61 F65; grant tempeste F62.
 95 si] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; tellement F37 F42; trop grant si] si grant F49 F53 F55 F58 F64 F69 F71 F78.
 96 pecoia] rompirent F37 F42; des percirent F63; rompist F65; leur mas pecoia] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*.
 97 les] et li F49 F69 F70 F71 F78.
 98 mas pecoia les gouvernails froisserent] mars et gouvernail pecoierent F03 F31; mas et leur gouvernaus pechoierent F35.
 99 meismes] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 100 par grant peril...jour] au tiers jor par grant perill eschaperent et vindrent F49 F69 F71 F78.
 101 port] port en la vile F49 F69 F71 F78.
 102 En] En tel maniere que F49 F69 F71 F78.
 103 guisse] eglise F32 F37 F39 F51.
 104 puis] F34 F49 F53 F58 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
 105 mis] F61 F63 *lack*.
 106 ce] voyage tellement F37 F42; ce mene puis F49 F69 F71 F78.
 107 estre mis a ce qu'ilz alaissent] aller F03 F31 F35.
 108 que il] F48 F53 *lack*.
 109 a] F03 F31 F33 F36 F38 F40 F42 F43 F45 F46 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F63 *lack*; puis a F49 F69 F71 F78; puis F57 F72 F77.
 110 grant] F03 F31 F32 F35 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
 111 le roi et] F03 F31 F34 F35 *lack*.
 112 autres] F30 F53 F54 F55 *lack*.
 113 emprist a faire] fist F03 F31 F35.
 114 message] voyage F37 F42; a faire ce massage] ce messaige a faire F53 F54 F55 F58.
 115 l'arcevesques Ferry de Sur] l'arcevesques de Sur Ferris F03; Ferris l'arcevesques de Sur F31 F35.
 116 Jehan] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 117 l'evesque] l'arcevesque F03; l'evesque de Bethleem et l'evesque F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78; Jehan l'evesque] l'evesque Jehan F58 F60 F62.
 118 uns de ses evesques] soz lui F03 F31 F35; sage home F49 F69 F70 F72 F78; sages F71.
 119 vent] vent que li autre F37 F42 F49 F70 F71 F72 F78.

et¹²⁰ passerent la mer sans encombrer.¹²¹ Mes ne firent mie grant¹²² preu¹²³ a cele besoigne. Car puis que il furent venu en France, ne demora guerres¹²⁴ que l'evesque Jehans¹²⁵ de Belinas¹²⁶ morut¹²⁷ a Paris¹²⁸ et fu enterrez en¹²⁹ l'eglise¹³⁰ Saint Victor, a senestre¹³¹ si come l'en entre vers le¹³² cuer.¹³³ Deus anz apres l'arcevesques s'en retorna en Surie et ne apporta¹³⁴ ne¹³⁵ secors ne esperance.¹³⁶

[After the king returned to his kingdom at the beginning of this year, nothing happened in the land that should be recounted, except that Renier, the bishop of Lydda, died and in his place was elected and consecrated Bernard, the abbot of Mount Tabor. After, when the new season had come, this was at the beginning of the sixth year of the reign of King Amaury, the barons of the land of Syria, those who were the wisest, thought that all the Christians of the land were in great peril, because that powerful man, Nur al-Din, who had done enough evil to them many times, now desired the Kingdom of Egypt for himself, so that he would be able to overcome us by sea and by land and harass all the land in many ways and make it so that no-one would be able to come safely to Jerusalem by sea, which was still the greatest danger because of the large numbers of galleys and ships he had on the sea. Because of this, the worthy men who understood such matters decided that they would send from this land to the West some of the best prelates of the land who would be able to demonstrate to the good Christian princes the suffering and the peril of the Holy Land and ask them, for Our Lord's sake, to come to give aid

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- 120 meilleur vent et] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 121 encombrer] avoir quelque empeschement F37; quelque empeschement F42.
 122 grant] grant moult grant F02 F57; molt grant F70 F72 F74 F77.
 123 preu] avancement F37 F42.
 124 guerres] mye graniment F37 F42.
 125 Jehans] F03 F31 F35 F44 F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78 *lack*.
 126 Jehans de Belinas] F61 F63 *lack*.
 127 Jehans de Belinas morut] jehan de belynas et huitace deans de charmentre morurent F45.
 128 a Paris] F58 F61 F63 *lack*; Jehans de Belinas morut a Paris] F60 F62 *lack*.
 129 enterrez en] mist a F03 F31 F35.
 130 l'eglise] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 131 a senestre] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.
 132 vers le] en F60 F61 F62; li F63.
 133 a senestre si...cuer] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*.
 134 ne apporta] n'en reporta F60 F62 F63.
 135 ne] F31 F37 F46 F50 F54 F57 F73 *lack*.
 136 esperance] esperance aucune F37; esperance que nus deust venir F49 F69 F71 F78; aie F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; esperance que arme deust venir F70 F72.

in His inheritance, for the Kingdom of Syria had been many times aided and maintained by their people. To take this message, they chose Amaury, the patriarch of Jerusalem, Herneis, the archbishop of Caeasarea, and William, the bishop of Acre. With this they charged them, especially to go and present this matter to the Emperor Frederick (I) of Germany, King Louis (VII) of France, King Henry (II) of England, and King William of Sicily. They told them to speak of these same matters to the lesser barons: to Count Philip of Flanders, Count Henry (I) of Champagne, Count Thibaut (V) of Blois and to the others of these lands. They made ready their journey and embarked upon the sea and left the port. But on the second night arose such a great storm that their mast shattered, the steering oars broke and the ship was, likewise, rent, so that at great peril they escaped and returned on the third day to the port. In no manner then would they be able to finish this journey because they were weary, so they had to choose other men. Following great entreaties by the king and the other barons, Frederick, archbishop of Tyre, agreed to take this message, and he took with him John, the bishop of Banyas, who was one of his bishops. They had a better wind and crossed the sea without trouble. But they did not have any great success in this undertaking. For not long after they had arrived in France, Bishop John of Banyas died in Paris and was interred in the church of St Victor, to the left just as one enters towards the choir. Two years afterwards the archbishop returned to Syria and brought neither aid nor hope.]

This chapter describes King Amaury's 1169 embassy to the Western princes in response to the growing power of Nur al-Din and the threat posed by Saladin's control of Egypt. The *RHC* edition (Chapter 20.12; Huygens also labeled it 20.12) contains an addition relating to a certain Huitace described as 'dean of Charmentré'¹³⁷ (see note 127). Ost and Pryor identified this figure as being associated with the translator due to him being the subject of two additions to the *Eracles* text.¹³⁸ Huitace, however, does not appear in the Paris edition of this chapter, although Paris did note that the *RHC* edition had included this reference.¹³⁹ Pryor also noted this and commented that 'it would appear that the scribes of the MSS used by Paulin Paris had dropped the mention of this dean of Charmentré from E.20.12 because they realized that he was reported as still alive in 1180–81'.¹⁴⁰ There is no reference to Huitace in Book 20.11 in F02, F05,

137 *RHC*, 20.12 p. 961.

138 Ost, p. 14; Pryor, p. 280. See above, p. 113.

139 Paris, 20.11 vol. 2 p. 327 n. 3.

140 Pryor, p. 281.

Fo6, F38, or F72. His name appears in the printed editions of Book 22.6, but he was not present in the manuscripts consulted for that chapter.¹⁴¹ Chapter 20.11 was selected as a sample chapter in the expectation that references to this Huitace would serve as a guide to establishing the relationships between the manuscripts.

There is, in fact, no evidence that this addition can be attributed to the translator of the *Eracles* text, nor does it contribute to the manuscript stemma. Despite Pryor's comment that scribes had omitted Huitace's name from this chapter because he also appeared, still alive, later in the text, there is no reference to him in either location in the two manuscripts that Paris used, F31 and F52, nor does he appear in F58, the only other manuscript that Paris mentions.¹⁴² Pryor also stated that 'the important point is that various MSS add his name to the chronicle on two different occasions and some of them give precise details of his burial place'. In this statement Pryor was relying on Ost. In fact, the two references to Huitace, dean of Charmentré, occur only in a single manuscript of the *Eracles* text, F45. This manuscript includes numerous variations and, as mentioned earlier, cannot be considered close to the original text of the translation. This constitutes proof, if needed, that the *RHC* editors were heavily reliant on F45, dated c.1260.

While the addition of Huitace is limited to a single manuscript, the addition of the burial place of John, the bishop of Banyas, is found in nearly all of the manuscripts (see Table 9 below). William simply stated that John died in Paris: 'nam predictus episcopus postquam in Franciam pervenit, statim apud Parisius ultimum clausit diem'¹⁴³ [for the aforesaid bishop, after they came into France, immediately concluded his last day at Paris], but the French text adds 'et fu enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l'en entre vers le cuer' [and was interred in the abbey of St Victor, to the left just as one enters towards the choir]. This reading is present in all the group α manuscripts, but the phrase—'a senestre si come l'en entre vers le cuer'—is lacking from a number of λ group manuscripts (see note 133). In particular, it is lacking in F50, F57, F73, and F77 from group λ_1 . There are other variants in this chapter that seem to divide these four manuscripts from F70 and F72. Manuscript F74 is alone in group λ_2 in matching the reading of the four manuscripts, although with a few unique variations, including the repetition of lines. The rest of group λ_2 —F49, F69, F71, and F78—have a number of similarities with the other two manuscripts from group λ_1 —F70 and F72. Among the group β manuscripts, only F34, a manuscript that contains several unique readings, matches those that lack 'a senestre

141 Paris, 22.6 vol. 2 p. 418; *RHC*, 22.7 p. 1074.

142 Paris, 1.27 vol. 1 p. 49 n.2; 3.19 vol. 1 p. 111 n. 3.

143 WT, 20.12 lines 35–37.

TABLE 9 20.11 A

et fu enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l'en entre vers le cuer	F02 F04 F05 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F38 F39 F40 F42 F43 F46 F48 F49 F51 F52 F54 F55 F58 F64 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78
et fu mist a Saint Victor a senestre si come l'en entre vers le cuer	F03 F31 F35
et fu enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor	F34 F50 F57 F73 F74 F77
et fu enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor a senestre	F44
et fu enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor si come l'en entre vers le cuer	F53 F58 F64
et furent enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l'en entre vers le cuer	F45
et fu enterrez en l'eglise Saint Victor a senestre si come l'en entre en cuer	F60 F61 F62
et fu enterrez Victor a senestre si come l'en entre li cuer	F63
Lacks passage	F65
Lack chapter	F01 F41 F47

si come l'en entre vers le cuer'; F44 lacks only 'si come l'en entre vers le cuer', while F53, F58, and F64 lack 'a senestre'. The only manuscript that lacks the complete addition is F65. However, this manuscript is heavily abridged in the chapter, with numerous variants and omissions, and cannot be said to contain a good reading of the text.

Group λ manuscripts share a number of distinctive readings. These are F49, F69, F71, and F78 from λ₂ and F70 and F72 from λ₁. These variants also include additional readings. The title of John of Banyas is altered from 'Jehan l'evesque de Belinas' to 'Johan l'evesque de Betleem et l'evesque de Belinas'; 'un de ses evesques' becomes 'sages hom', and 'que nus deust venir' is added to the end of the chapter following the statement that Frederick, the archbishop of Tyre, had failed to return with aid from the West. These manuscripts also share a number of alterations in word order. It is significant that these variant readings regarding the bishop of Banyas occur only in manuscripts with an Eastern provenance, or those clearly derived from Eastern manuscripts, which could imply an Eastern scribe adding his own knowledge of the persons involved. However, there are no other sources suggesting that John, bishop of Banyas, held another office, and in 1169 the bishopric of Bethlehem was occupied by

the long-established Ralph (1146–74),¹⁴⁴ making the additional information found in these manuscripts clearly incorrect. Other information from these same manuscripts can be shown to be faulty. For instance, ‘li arcevesque de Cesaire Herneis’ is altered in F49, F69, F71, and F78, but not in F70 or F72, to read ‘li evesque de Sayete Henri’. This is not correct. In the Latin original William listed ‘dominus Hernesius Cesariensis archiepiscopus’,¹⁴⁵ and other evidence shows that in 1169 the archbishop of Caesarea was indeed Ernesius and the bishop of Sidon was named Amalric.¹⁴⁶ There are a couple of other variants for Herneis, with F03 and F36 reading ‘Arnoul’ while F44 has ‘Hermen’, but the variant is not found in any other manuscripts.

Among the group α manuscripts, F31 and F35 again share a number of similarities, with F03 also showing a close relationship. While these manuscripts do not contain additional material that can distinguish them, as do the λ group manuscripts, they all lack significant sections of text from this chapter, such as ‘esleuz et’, ‘pour la grant plainté des galées et des nés que cil avoit sur mer’, and the names of the Western rulers. In addition they share numerous variant word order. Manuscripts F31 and F35 are also unique in separating this chapter in two (see note 59).

Manuscript F04 contains a couple of variant readings that set it apart from the rest of the α group manuscripts. It lacks ‘commencement du’ (see note 11) and alters ‘mauls leur avoit fait’ to read ‘lor avoit fet mal’ (see note 21). The first of these two variants is also found in all of the group β manuscripts, while those without the second have a variant reading in which the text before the passage that reads ‘par maintes fois’ has been lost and then contains the reading ‘mauls leur avoit fait’. It is possible that this is a simple word order change. In this case, a manuscript related to F04 was the basis for the group β branch, since there are several instances in which F04 has a reading unique among the group α manuscripts but commonly found in the β manuscripts. There are also instances in which the β manuscripts contain what can be considered an insignificant variant, such as an extra ‘et’ (see note 84), which is not found in F04 or any of the α or λ manuscripts. These examples are weak when compared with the solid ties between F04 and the group β manuscripts.

Once again F60 and F62 have a number of variations in common. Both read ‘Jesus’ instead of ‘Reniers’, ‘moustrassent’ [they would present] instead of ‘parlassent de’ [they would speak of], and ‘aie’ [aid] instead of ‘esperance’ [hope]. Manuscripts F61 and F63 also share these variants; F65 shares the last two and

144 Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 117–118.

145 WT, 20.12 lines 18–19.

146 Hamilton, *Latin Church*, pp. 124–125, 148.

lacks 'Reniers' entirely. This is another case in which these *Rothelin Continuation* manuscripts appear related. Another case in which these manuscripts are linked is in lacking the phrase 'en son lieu fu esleuz et sacrez Bernarz l'abbé de Monte Tabor'. While F65 lacks the entire passage, the others are missing a portion to read 'en son...bor'. The fact that four of the manuscripts contain the beginning and ending of the phrase would indicate that it was part of an earlier exemplar manuscript. It is interesting that, in F60 this missing section coincides with the end of a line, although within the middle of the folio. In this manuscript 'en son' are the last two words of folio 214ra line 14, while '...bor' begins line 15. The amount of text missing would be roughly equivalent to a line of text, and seems logical to conclude that the scribe of this manuscript, or an earlier manuscript, skipped a line. In F61, F62, and F63 'en son...bor' occurs within the middle of the line. This appears to indicate that these three manuscripts are either derived from F60 or a manuscript closely related to it. The fact that F65 contains strong similarities to the rest of these manuscripts indicates that it is a part of their group, and it is likely that the scribe noticed that 'en son...bor' was an error and omitted these words entirely in order for the text to make sense. Manuscript F65 is a fifteenth-century manuscript while the rest are fourteenth-century.

Manuscripts F37 and F42 have similarities that would continue to link them, as in the other chapters, but these are few. Moreover, each has other variations not found in the other, indicating that, while related, they are not particularly close. Both manuscripts have been given a late fifteenth-century Flemish provenance. These two manuscripts, however, are part of a distinct β group tradition that included a number of variant readings, though manuscript F37 has more variants, such as adding 'aucunes' [some] to 'esperance' [hope] at the end of the chapter and replacing 'barons de la terre cils' [barons of those lands] with 'barons et haut homes aumomsees' [barons and high men of charity]. While the base reading is 'barons de la terre de Surie' [barons of the land of Syria], 'de Surie' is absent from all the group β manuscripts, and so the scribe added a set phrase of honour to mention of the barons whom the text continues to describe as 'plus sage' [most wise].

It is clear from this chapter that several different branches of the stemma developed. While most of the λ_2 manuscripts can be identified from additional readings, this is not the case for the β manuscripts, which can be categorized only generally by the passages lacking from these manuscripts that are present in the α and λ manuscripts. Despite, however, a lack of positive identification, these manuscripts are recognizably part of a group in spite of the numerous variations that occur within individual manuscripts.

Book 22 Chapter 6

Based on Fo2 and F38

α	λ ₁	λ ₂	β	
Fo1 MS mutilated	F5o 339r-v	F49 299r-v	Fo6 245v	F47 183v-184r
Fo2 162v-163r	F57 239r	F69 267r-v	F3o 261v-217r	F48 2o3r-v
Fo3 179r-v	F7o 25ov-251r	F71 B44v	F32 193v-194r	F51 198r
Fo4 122v	F72 272r	F74 344v	F33 223r-v	F53 268v-269r
Fo5 299r	F73 232v-233r	F78 311r	F34 2o1v	F54 3o8v-3o9r
F31 268r	F77 256r-v		F36 188v189r	F55 221v
F35 2o3v-2o4r			F37 193v	F58 244r
F38 163r			F39 529-53o	F6o 238v
F41 MS mutilated			F4o 168r-v	F61 212v-213r
F52 224r			F42 363r	F62 B9ov
			F43 231v-232r	F63 239v
			F44 283v-284r	F64 274v
			F45 213r	F65 381r-v
			F46 14or-v	

Honteuse¹ vie menoit² en ceste maniere li princes Buimonz³ a ce tens. Et⁴ tant estoit ja⁵ la chose alée avant que li princes estoit⁶ escommeniez et⁷ toute la terre entredite⁸ pour les sacrileges⁹ et pour¹⁰ les tors¹¹ que l'en

1 Honteuse] Toute sa λ2.
2 Honteuse vie menoit] Honteusement menoit sa vie F3o F53 F54 F55 F58 F64.
3 li princes Buimonz] Buimont le prince d'Antioche F53 F55 F58 F64.
4 et] F53 F58 *lack*.
5 ja] Fo2 Fo4 F48 F53 F54 F55 F57 F58 F7o F72 F73 *lack*.
6 estoit] ert F43; estoit ja F61F65.
7 et] et que F49 F69 F71 F74.
8 entredite] estoit entredite F69 F71 F74 F78.
9 sacrileges] sarquiles F3o F33 F39 F4o F47 F51 F54 F55 F6o F61 F62 F63 F64; grevemens F42; outrages F43 F45 F48 F53 F58.
10 les sacrileges et pour] F49 F5o F69 F71 F74 F77 *lack*.
11 tors] torz fez F58 F64.

fesoit aux clers et aux eglises. Par tout le país ne fesoit l'en nul sacrement¹² fors seulement baptizier les enfans et confesser les malades. A¹³ la fin, virent¹⁴ li preudome du reaume¹⁵ de Surie¹⁶ que cilz aferes ne povoit pas¹⁷ longuement durer sans grant peril. Si envoierent la¹⁸, par commun accord, le patriarche de Jherusalem, Renaut¹⁹ de Chastellon qui avoit este prince d'Antioche et parrastres²⁰ a cellui Buimont, le²¹ mestre du Temple frere Arnaut de Toroge, le²² mestre de l'Ospital frere²³ Rogier de Mores²⁴. A ceus fu commandé que ilz essaiaissent en toutes manieres²⁵ se ilz povroient apaiser du tout²⁶ ce grant trouble, qui estoit en la terre de Antioche, ou au mains i²⁷ meissent tel conseil que cil mal cessassent une piece du tens. Car li prodome avoient²⁸ grant paour que la parole en²⁹ alast³⁰ outre mer a l'apostoille et au reaume de France et³¹ que l'en meist³² sus a ceus de la terre que ilz consentissent³³ les maus que li princes fesoit. Pour ce voudrent moustrer appertement que ilz ne se acordoient mie³⁴ a lui aincois leur desplaisoit moult sa vie. Li patriarches prist avecques lui des prelaz de Sainte Eglise³⁵ les plus sages et les plus³⁶ religieux³⁷: Aubert

12 sacrament] sacrament ne nulls droiture de Sainte Eglise F53 F58 F64.

13 A] en F36 F43 F65.

14 virent] vindrent F53 F54 F61 F65.

15 du reaume] F43 F51 *lack*; de la terre F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; preudome du reaume] baron F52 λ1 λ2.

16 de Surie] F34 F46 *lack*.

17 pas] mie F03 F31 F35 F48.

18 la] F30 F46 F48 F60 F62 F69 F71 F74 *lack*.

19 Renaut] et Renaut F34 F48 F72.

20 parrastres] autres F57 F73.

21 le] et le F48 λ2.

22 le] et le F36 F44 F48 F49 F69 F71 F78.

23 frere] F36 F44 F52 F57 F73 F77 *lack*.

24 Rogier de Mores] F36 F46 F44 F49 F69 F71 *lack*.

25 en toutes manieres] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.

26 du tout] F53 F58 F72 *lack*.

27 i] F30 F34 F63 *lack*.

28 avoient] en avoient λ2.

29 en] ne F06 F54; F42 F64 *lack*; n'en F44 F45 F48 F51 F60 F72.

30 alast] n'alast F06 F61 F65; en alast] n'alast λ2.

31 et] λ2 F33 *lack*; ne F43.

32 meist] ne meist F43 F62 F63 F64; ne deist F44.

33 consentissent] ne consentissent F43 F60.

34 mie] pas F54 F72 λ2; F50 *lacks*.

35 Sainte Eglise] Surie F44.

36 plus] F32 F37 F40 F47 *lack*.

37 et les plus religieux] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.

l'evesque³⁸ de Bethleem, l'eslit de Cesaire³⁹ qui avoit⁴⁰ nom Moines⁴¹, Renault l'abbé de Monte Syon, Perron⁴² le prieur⁴³ du Sepuchre⁴⁴. Ilz s'en alerent tuit ensemble⁴⁵ par⁴⁶ la terre au⁴⁷ conte de Triple et le menerent avec eus pour ce qu'il estoit acointe du prince et cuiderent⁴⁸ que ses paroles le deussent⁴⁹ mouvoir a bien fere⁵⁰. Ilz vindrent vers Antioche et troverent le prince et le patriarche que il orent fet venir⁵¹ a la Lische⁵².

[A shameful life in this manner did Prince Bohemond lead at this time. Things came to pass that the prince was excommunicated and all the land put under interdict for the sacrileges and for the wrongs that he had done to the clergy and to the churches. Through all the country no one could perform any sacrament except only to baptize the children and to confess the sick. In the end, the worthy men of the Kingdom of Syria saw that this affair could not carry on for long without great peril. So by common agreement they sent there the patriarch of Jerusalem (Heraclius), Renaud de Châtillon, who had been prince of Antioch and stepfather of this Bohemond, the Master of the Temple, Brother Arnold de Torroja, and the Master of the Hospital, Brother Roger des Moulins. To these it was commanded that they should attempt, in all ways that they were able, to bring peace from all of this great trouble which was in the land of Antioch, or at least agree together that this wickedness should cease in a short period of time. For the worthy men had great fear that talk would go over the sea to the pope and to the Kingdom of France and that the people of the land would be accused of complicity with the wickedness that the prince had done. Because of this they desired to show openly that they did not agree with him but that his life greatly displeased them. The patriarch took with him some of the wisest and most religious prelates of the

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- 38 l'evesque] F43 F45 F51 *lack*.
 39 de Cesaire] et des autres F43 F45 F51; de Saiette F54.
 40 avoit] out F43 F51.
 41 qui avoit nom Moines] F34 F44 F48 *lack*.
 42 Perron] Pierre F42 F44 F53 F58 F64.
 43 prieur] maistre F53 F58 F64; empereur F55.
 44 Sepuchre] Sepulcre et Huitace li dean de Charmentré F45.
 45 ensemble] F53 F55 F58 F64 F65 *lack*.
 46 par] en F60 F61 F62.
 47 au] le F50 λ2; dou F57.
 48 cuiderent] pource F61 F65.
 49 deussent] seussent F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 50 et cuiderent que...fere] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.
 51 venir] mener F70 F72.
 52 que il orent fait venir a La lische] F36 F42 F44 F65 *lack*.

Holy Church, Albert, bishop of Bethlehem, the (archbishop-) elect of Caesarea who was named Monachus, Reynauld the abbot of Mount Sion, Peter the prior of the Sepulchre. They all went together through the land to the count of Tripoli, and they took him with them because he was familiar with the prince and they expected that his words would move him to do right. They went towards Antioch and they found that the prince and the patriarch as they had arrived had gone to Latakia.]

Like Book 20.11, 22.6 (22.7 in the *RHC* edition) was also chosen because of the mention of Huitace, dean of Charmentré, in both modern editions. His name was added to William of Tyre's list of the nobles and clergy who were sent to speak to Bohemond III of Antioch concerning his treatment of the Church and his wife which had caused his excommunication in 1181.⁵³ Unlike Book 20.11, Paulin Paris included the addition in the text of this chapter, but noted 'voici la seconde fois que notre traducteur ajoute à la liste donnée par Guillaume de Tyre ce nom de doyen de Charmentré. Mais cette addition n'est pas dans tous les manuscrits'.⁵⁴ This is a particularly long chapter, which also covers the death of Pope Alexander III and election of Lucius III, as well as the death of Odo, arch-deacon of Tyre.

As in Book 20.11, the reference to Huitace in this chapter is found only in one manuscript, F45. There is no possibility that his name was part of the original French translation. Huitace does not appear in either chapter in the two manuscripts that Paris used, F31 and F52, nor does he appear in F58, the other manuscript that Paris mentioned in his apparatus.⁵⁵ While Ost and Pryor thought this addition could be useful in establishing the translator's identity, this has not proven to be the case. However, it is likely that the scribe of F45, or its direct antecedent, had knowledge of this man. No other references, however, to Huitace being present in the East or a part of this delegation exist.

All the λ group manuscripts read 'baron' instead of 'preudome du reaume', while almost every manuscript from groups α and β contains the base reading 'preudome du reaume' (see note 15). The only exception is F52 from group α . While the reading of 'baron' is the only variant common to the group λ_1 manuscripts, the λ_2 group has variants common to all the manuscripts in this group. Notable in all of the λ_2 manuscripts is the opening word of the chapter in which 'Honteuse' [Shameful] is replaced with 'Toute sa' [All his], which is unique to these manuscripts. The manuscripts in λ_2 also share a number of

53 *RHC*, 22.7 p. 1074; Paris, vol. 2, 22.6 p. 418.

54 Paris 22.6 vol. 2 p. 418 n. 1.

55 Paris, 1.27 vol. 1 p. 49 n. 2; 3.19 vol. 1 p. 111 n. 3.

minor variant readings, such as replacing 'mie' with 'pas' and 'avoient' with 'en avoient'. These variations can be regarded as scribal variations. But the fact that these manuscripts share these instances in common, in addition to the more significant variant they share, shows that these manuscripts form a distinctive group for this chapter.

The λ_1 manuscripts also form a distinct group for this chapter, but with fewer readings that link manuscripts within the group. While F57 and F73 are closely linked in other chapters, in this chapter they are unique among all manuscripts in replacing 'parrastres' [stepfather] with 'autres' [others]. This is clearly an error, as 'Renaut de Chastellon qui avoit esté prince d'Antioche et **autres** a celui Buimont' conveys different information than 'Renaut de Chastellon qui avoit esté prince d'Antioche et **parrastres** a celui Buimont'. Both manuscripts also lack 'frere' from reference to Roger des Moulins, the master of the Hospital. From group λ_1 , F77, has been shown elsewhere to be related to F57 and F73, and the fact that it also lacks 'frere' would support this. The only other manuscripts that lack 'frere' are F51 from group β and F52 from group α . Manuscript F51 does not appear to be related to F57 and F73 in any other way. It seems more likely that this was a scribal omission and is coincidental. However, this is the second time in this chapter where F52 contains a variant unique among group α but links it with λ group manuscripts, the previous instance being the 'baron' reading found in all of the λ group manuscripts.

While it is tempting to think that F52 is representative of a group of manuscripts that formed the basis for the development of the λ group from the α group, F52 is a fourteenth-century manuscript, while the λ group mostly date from the mid- to late thirteenth century. For four of the sample chapters—7.22, 11.14, 12.1, and 20.11—F52 bears no resemblance to the λ group. F52, however, does share major variant readings for Book 15.22, the 'chacier' reading, and for the 'baron' reading in Book 22.6, although isolated readings may be coincidental. The fact, however, that these variants include text that has been added might indicate that F52 may contain material from a different tradition of the *Eracles* text, one related to the λ group.

Few variants among the α group manuscripts exist for this chapter, with only F31 and F35 containing a significant number. As is the case with the other sample chapters, these two late thirteenth-century manuscripts prove to be closely related. They are alone among all the manuscripts in reading 'l'apostole de Rome' [the pope of Rome] instead of simply 'l'apostolle'. These two manuscripts also show some affinity with F03,⁵⁶ although not directly descended, as its mistakes are not found in F31 or F35. For instance, the F03 scribe dropped a

56 See above edited passages, Book 20 Chapter 11 particularly.

line with ‘...zes. Par tout le païs ne faisoit l’en nul sacrement’, with ‘egli...’ forming the last word on folio 179rb line 47. Manuscript F03 is unique in this reading, yet another unique variant occurs in F31 reading ‘Marches’ instead of ‘Mores’ when speaking of Roger des Moulins, the master of the Hospital. Roger was the master of the Order of the Hospital from 1177 to 1187, and William specifically named him as ‘magister quoque Domus Hospitalis frater Rogerus de Molins’⁵⁷ [and also the Master of the Hospital brother Roger des Moulins]. Paris also refers to him in this form, ‘le mestre de l’Ospital, frere Rogier de **Molins**’.⁵⁸ However, the *RHC* editors refer to him as ‘le mestre de l’Ospital, frere Rogier de **Mores**’.⁵⁹ Not a single *Eracles* manuscript reads ‘Molins’ and he is not mentioned. ‘Marches’ in F31 is the only variant from ‘Mores’. F36 and F44 do not give his name at all. Paris appears to have altered the name to the recognizable Latin form by which the master was known.⁶⁰ In his edition, Huygens noted that only the β group of the Latin manuscripts contains the reading ‘Molins’: the α group of the Latin manuscripts instead have the alternate reading ‘Moris’—similar to the French ‘Mores’.⁶¹

This is further evidence that the translator used an α group Latin manuscript, rather than one from the β group. The Latin α group consists of three known manuscripts: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 95, known as C, and the manuscripts B and W mentioned in the discussion of sample Chapter 11.14, regarding the words ‘li filz’ between ‘Sydon’ and ‘Canaam’. If that phrase had been lacking in the original translation, Book 11.14 would be closer to the Latin group β manuscripts, but in this chapter it is closer to α manuscripts. In Book 12.4 there is another instance in which the French text has a reading closer to the B and W manuscripts. This refers to Baldwin I’s father-in-law, the Armenian named Thoros, though identified by William as Gabriel. The Latin reads ‘nobilis Greci Gabrielis nomine’⁶² [a noble Greek named Gabriel]. However, Huygens noted that the B and W manuscripts replace ‘nobilis’ with ‘homine’.⁶³ The *Eracles* text reads ‘haut home hermin qui ot non Gabriel’ [a worthy Armenian who was named Gabriel]. The French in addition to correcting ‘Greci’, contains readings from both of the Latin manuscript groups, and it is

57 WT, 22.7 lines 13–14.

58 Paris, 22.6 vol. 2 p. 418.

59 *RHC*, 22.7 vol. 2 p. 1073.

60 See J. Burgtorf, *Central Convent*, p. 74–75; and H.J. Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Boydell, 2003), p. xi.

61 Huygens, WT, 22.7 p. 1015, line 14 n.

62 WT, 12.4 line 19.

63 Huygens, WT, 12.4 p. 551, line 19 n.

unlikely that it was derived directly from either one.⁶⁴ The 'Mores' reading, however, does link it with the Latin α group rather than the β group.

The group β manuscripts once again for this chapter have a large number of variants. In particular, F44, a mid-fifteenth-century manuscript, is heavily abridged. It does share readings with F42, another mid-fifteenth-century manuscript from Flanders, such as replacing 'Perron' with 'Pierre' and the absence of the last phrase 'que il orent fait a la Lische'. This last variant is shared by F36, also a fifteenth-century manuscript, but from Artois, and by F65, a fifteenth-century manuscript also from northern France. Manuscripts F42, F44, and F65 give 'saint pere' [Holy father] rather than 'l'apostoille' in common, a reading shared by F37, another fifteenth-century manuscript, from Flanders. This strongly indicates that, by the fifteenth century, a number of variants, with recent vocabulary and terminology, had been introduced into the manuscript tradition with the effect of distancing the text, at least for this chapter, from its original form. Of particular interest is F65, because up to this point it has shown strong affinities with F61, to the point of including the same distinctive rubrics: 'Comment Bauduin prince d'Antioche a la requeste du patriarche se commenca a retraire de sa folie mais puis que lui et les autres prelatz furent partis il fist pis que devant et getta les vaillans homes hors d'Antioche' [How Baldwin, prince of Antioch, at the request of the patriarch began to draw away from his folly but, when he and the other prelates had departed, he became worse than before and threw out the valiant men from Antioch]. Both manuscripts incorrectly read 'Bauduin' rather than 'Buimont'. Both rubrics appear to be in the same hand as the main text of the manuscript and do not appear to have been added, as both fit the allocated space.

The appearance of 'Bauduin' in the rubric is odd, but the fact that both manuscripts include this error would indicate that they shared a common antecedent. Despite similarities, however, such as reading 'de la terre' instead of 'du reaume' (see note 15), F65 preserves an abridged version of this chapter in which large sections, in particular the list of persons on the mission to Bohemond, are lacking. The fact that the 'de la terre' reading is found not only in F61 and in F65 but also in F60, F62, and F63 confirm that these manuscripts form a distinct subgroup.⁶⁵ Manuscript F65 may have a distinctively different text for this chapter, but indications show that it is still part of this group and that the abridgement coincides with the abridgement of the same chapter in other fifteenth-century manuscripts, such as F44 and F46,⁶⁶ which do not

64 Huygens, WT, 'Les Manuscrits', p. 18 n. 31.

65 Edbury, 'Translation', p. 91.

66 See appendix for abridgements and other unique variants.

appear to be directly related to F65. It seems likely that F65 is an example of a general trend in interest in the crusades during the fifteenth century in which the material was condensed rather than a unique case that had begun a tradition of abridgement.

Other variants link the remainder of the β manuscripts. A noticeable one occurs at the beginning of the chapter, with several manuscripts, F30, F53, F54, F55, F58, and F64, altering 'Honteuse vie menoit' [A Shameful life he led] so that it reads 'Honteusement menoit sa vie' [Shamefully he led his life]. Manuscript F44 includes a variant similar to this reading, 'moult menoit le prince honteusement sa vie' [the prince led his life very shamefully], although it is close to these manuscripts only in readings that establish it as belonging to the β group. F44 is heavily reworked and any similarity is coincidental. As this is the only similarity that F30 shares with this group, it may indicate a distant relationship. Other in this group share significant variations that link them together: F53, F55, F58, and F64 all read 'Buimont le prince d'Antioche' instead of 'li princes Buimonz', while F53, F58, and F64 all add the phrase 'ne nulls droiture de sainte eglise' [nor any rights of the church] to the discussion that sacraments were not being administered while the principality of Antioch was under excommunication. F58 and F64, again, seem closely related in reading 'torz fez' [wrongs done] rather than simply 'tors' [wrongs]. This group of manuscripts also contains some significant errors. Again, F53, F58, and F64 are particularly close, all three replacing 'prieur' [prior] with 'maistre' [master] in regards to Peter, prior of the Holy Sepulchre, who was a member of the delegation to Prince Bohemond. All three also give his name as 'Pierre' rather than 'Perron', which is common to most of the manuscripts, and uniquely all lack a large section of the text: 'et cuiderent que ses paroles le deussent mouvoir a bien faire' [and they expected that his words would move him to do right]. While F55 also alters the title of Peter, this manuscript reads the obvious mistake 'empereur'. The whole group share minor variations, but F53, F58, and F64 appear the most closely related.

A word that creates a major division is 'sacrileges', for which there a number of variant readings; the α and λ manuscripts all contain the base reading. Only a few β manuscripts contain 'sacrileges': F06, F32, F34, F36, F37, and F46. Most of the manuscripts, F30, F33, F39, F40, F47, F51, F54, F55, F60, F61, F62, F63, and F64, read 'sarquiles', which may be a variation of 'sacrileges'. A few read 'outrages': F43, F45, F48, F53, and F58. Manuscript F42 is alone in reading 'greve-mens', but this is a late manuscript. The passage is lacking entirely in F36, F44, and F65. Although F43 and F45 are comparatively early, dated c. 1275 and c. 1250–75 respectively, the number of manuscripts reading 'sacrileges', including those that tend to have closer readings, suggests that 'outrages' is a variant

reading. The *RHC* edition again follows the F45 variant.⁶⁷ Dividing the manuscripts up using this variant, however, separates manuscripts, such as F58 and F64 and F37 and F42, that otherwise show a close relationship. Nor is the variation simply a matter of regional usage, since both F58 and F64 have a provenance of Paris in the fourteenth century while F37 and F42 are of fifteenth-century date from Flanders. This variant reading may represent a scribal error, but, taken as a whole, other variants link these manuscripts.

67 *RHC*, 22.7 p. 1073.

The Rubrics

Although both of the nineteenth-century printed editions contain a complete set of rubrics for the *Eracles* text, the original translation of William's work does not appear to have had any. Of the thirteenth-century manuscripts, only three—F31, F35, and F70—contain rubrics; they are more commonly found in the fifteenth-century manuscripts and some of those from the fourteenth century. Following is a list of rubrics in the manuscripts for the sample chapters with comparisons in the two printed editions.

Book 7.²²

- RHC* Comment li Crestien vindrent jusqu'à Rames que il troverent vuide de gent
- Paris Coment li Crestien vindrent jusqu'à Rames que il troverent vuide de gent
- F37 De la grant diligence que nos gens faisoient d'approuchier Jherusalem. Et advances d'aucune Turs a ceulx
- F44 Comme les crestiens passerent pais et plusieurs citez et comme le conte de flandres entre en la cité de Rames
- F53 Comment les xristiens vindrent a [illegible possibly 'Rames' or 'Pais'] qu'ilz trouverent voide de gens
- F60 Comment nos gens pristrent diverses citez et comment l'en les recevoit courtoisement par doute et comment il firent .i. evesque a Rames et li donnerent .ii. citez et les viles d'entour en l'onneur de saint jorge qui la estoit aovrez
- F61 Comment nos gens passerent diverses cités et comment l'en lez recevoit cortoisement par doute et comment il furent .i. evesque a ramez et li donnerent .ii. cités et lez vilez d'entour en l'onneur de Saint Jorge qui la estoit aoures
- F64 Conmant li crestien vindrent iusqua Rames que il trouverent voide de genz
- F65 Comment noz gens passerent divers citez et comment on les recevoit courtoisement par Et comment ilz furent ung evesque a Rames et lui donnerent deux citez et les villes d'entour en l'onneur de Saint George qui sa estoit aoure

Book 11.14

- RHC* Comment li rois Baudoin prist la cité de Saiete
Paris Coment li rois Baudoin prist la cité de Saiete
F31 le siege de Saiete
F36 Comment le roy Bauduin fu preserve de mort
F44 Comme la cité de Saiette fut prinse et comme le roy Baudouin fu en dangier
F53 Comment le roy Baudouin prist la cité de Saiette
F60 De la navie des crestiens qui vindrent de norouaille em pelerinage et par leur aide prist li rois la cité de Saiete. Et comment le seneschal du roy fu pendus par sa traison que li rois sot par les lettres qui estoient liees a une saiete qui fu traite en l'ost
F61 De la navie des crestiens qui vinrent de norouaille en pelerinage et par leur aide prist li roys la cité de Saiete et comment le seneschal au roy fu pendus par sa trahison
F65 De la navie des xpiens de Noruegue qui vinrent en pelerinaige. Et comment par leur ayde le roy prinst la cité de Sayette. Et comment le seneschal du roy fut perdu par sa trayson
F70 Coment la cité de Seete fu conquise

Book 12.1

- RHC* Comment il fait bon ovrer par conseil en ses gueures, et comment Baudoin de Borc, contes de Rohes, vint a Jherusalem et fut a l'enterrer le roi son cosin
Paris Coment il fait bon ovrer par conseil en ses gueures, et coment Baudoins de Borc, contes de Rohez, vint a Jherusalem et fut a l'enterrer le roi son cousin
F36 Comment Bauduin de Borc conte de Rohes fu coronne roy de Jherusalem
F37 Comment apres la mort du roy Baudouin son cousin le conte Baudouin de Rohes fut esleu roy de la sainte cité de Jherusalem
F53 Li commence li douzieme livrez coment li quens Baudoins de Roehes vint en Jherusalem
F64 Li commence li douzieme livrez coment li quens Baudoins de Roehes vint en Jherusalem
F65 Comment il fait bon ouvres par conseil en ses guerres Et comment Baudoin de Bourc conte de Rohes vinst en Jherusalem et fut a enterrer le roy son cousin'

- F70 Cest le douzieme livre ou qu'il se contrent come Buidoyn de Borc fu roi de Jerusalem et come l'ordre dou Temple comme sa. Et coment une grant navie de Veneciens a venue lor dux vin en surie et les covenances que les barons de la terre orrent a els por la conquete de Sur

Book 15.22

- RHC* Comment li empereres Jehans fu envenimés d'une saiete
Paris Coment li empereres Jehanz fu envenimez d'une saiete
 F36 Le mort de l'empereur de Constantinople
 F44 Come l'empereur estant a la chasse en furant d'un arc fu navre grefment
 F60 Comment l'empereres entrasint une saiete a .i. porc sengler se navre et la prist la cause dont il morut
 F61 Comment li empereres entraisint une saiete a .i. pors sengler se navra et la prist la cause dont il morut
 F65 Comment l'empereur entrainit une sayette a une pors sangler se navre et la prinst la cause dont il morut
 F70 Coment l'emperere de Costantinople al enteser qu'il fist por ferir un senglier se feri dont il morut
 F74 Ci ores comment li empereres de Costantinople se mist a la mort par .i. pilelet envenimé et quey il en avint

Book 20.11

- RHC* Des messages que li Crestien envoierent pour querre aide
Paris Des messages que li Crestien envoierent por querre aide
 F36 Des messages que li Crestien envoierent por querre aide
 F37 Comment les barons de Surie envoyèrent aucune prelates oultre mer pour demander secoure mais point n'en curent
 F44 Comme le roy de Jherusalem et les barons envoierent en la terre d'occident devers les princes
 F46 Des messages que li Crestien envoierent por querre aide
 F53 Des messaiges ques les xristiens envoierent guerre aide et retorna
 F60 Comment li roys par son conseil envoia en France et es autres terres de occident querre secours mais en la fin il ni trouva ne secours ne aide
 F61 Comment li roys par son conseil envoia en France et es autres terres de occident querre secours mes en la fin il ni trouva n'esperes ne aide

- F64 Des messages que li Crestien envoierent por querre aide
- F65 Comment le roy per son conseil envoya en France et en autres terres d'occident querre secours mais a la fin il ny trouva riens
- F70 Coment cil de surie envoierent as princes d'occident requerre aye

Book 22.6

- RHC* Comment li princes d'Antioche fu escommenié, et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble
- Paris Coment li princes d'Antioche fu escommeniez, et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble
- F36 Coment li princes d'Antioche fu escommeniez et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble
- F37 Coment li princes d'Antioche fu escommeniez et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble
- F44 Coment li princes d'Antioche fu escommeniez et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble
- F46 Coment li princes d'Antioche fu escommeniez et de la grant traison qui fu en Costentinoble
- F53 De ce meismes
- F60 Comment Baudoin le prince [illegible] du patriarche promist a lor de [illegible] mais puis que lui et [illegible] sen virent parti il fist puis que [illegible] gent des vaillans homes [illegible]
- F61 Comment Bauduins le prince d'Anthyoiche ala requeste du patriarche permist a roy retraire de sa folie mais puis que il et li autre prelat firent parti il fist puis que devant et geta les vaillans homes hors d'Anthyoiche
- F64 De ce meismes
- F65 Comment Bauduyn prince d'Antioche ala requeste du patriarche se commenca a retraire de sa folie mais puis que lui et les autres prelatz furent partis il fist pis que devant et getta les vaillans homes hors d'Antioche
- F70 de totes de ces encores de ce meismes

Summary

- F31 occasionally contains a few very short rubrics.
- F35 contains a few short rubrics [lacks beginning of 11.14].
- F36 contains numerous rubrics but not for every chapter.
- F37 contains numerous rubrics but not for every chapter.

- F44 contains rubrics for all chapters.
- F46 contains rubrics for all chapters.
- F53 contains rubrics for most chapters.
- F58 contains rubrics for most chapters.
- F60 contains extensive rubrics.
- F61 contains extensive rubrics.
- F64 contains rubric for most chapters.
- F65 contains extensive rubrics.
- F70 contains rubrics for most chapters.

The scribe of F74 left spaces for rubrics in the first 13 books, but they were not copied.

Once again it is clear that the editors of the *RHC* used manuscripts other than the four identified in their preface, since none of F04, F45, F48, or F77 contains rubrics. As previously mentioned, the *RHC* edition contains a variant found only in F64, and for two of the three sample chapters for which F64 includes a rubric, Books 7.22 and 20.11, this edition has the same wording. The third rubric from F64, Book 22.6, simply reads ‘De ce meismes’ and may have been considered by the editors too brief to be included as a chapter heading. While F64 is not alone in containing these rubrics—a close variant for Book 7.22 is found in F53 while the rubric for Book 20.11 is shared by F36 and F46 with F53 again containing a close variant—it is likely that the *RHC* editors consulted this manuscript and used at least some of its rubrics. F53, however, is textually close to F64 and shows similarities regarding its rubrics. In addition to the similar readings in Books 7.22 and 20.11, they are identical in Books 12.1 and 22.6, while both manuscripts lack a rubric for Books 12.1 and 15.22. That said, F53 contains a rubric for Book 11.14 while F64 does not. This rubric, ‘Comment le roy Baudouin prist la cité de Saiette’, is unique in the manuscripts but appears in both printed editions. It is therefore likely that the *RHC* editors consulted both manuscripts. Their rubric for Book 12.1 matches that from F65, while F53 and F64 differ.

Alone among the sample chapters, Book 15.22 of the *RHC* edition has a rubric that is not to be found in any known manuscript. Several manuscripts have different rubrics for this chapter, but none were used. Either the editors made use of a manuscript no longer extant or, unable to find a rubric in the manuscripts at their disposal, they created one. The implication is that the editors did not use any of the manuscripts with a rubric for this chapter (F36, F44, F60, F61, F65, F70, and F74) or, if they did, they overlooked it. It is clear that the *RHC* editors used a variety of manuscripts apart from those mentioned in their preface, including several in accumulating their chapter headings. Though they

did not use them all they seem to have relied heavily on the rubrics from F53 and F64. Paulin Paris simply copied the chapter headings from the *RHC* edition, with a few spelling changes. One of his manuscripts, F31, contains rubrics, but he preferred those in the previous edition.

Since the rubrics are not found in the majority of manuscripts they cannot be used to track the development of the entire manuscript stemma. Several manuscripts with similar rubrics, however, are also textually similar, and so the rubrics can be used in the development of the manuscript tradition. The rubrics show a division between the β and λ manuscripts, with the only two α group manuscripts to include any rubrics, F31 and F35, being distinctive. In F31 the only rubric for the sample chapters is in Book 11.14, while F35 lacks the beginning of this chapter and has no rubrics for any other sample chapters. While these two manuscripts differ in this, they are related and are distinct from the other manuscripts in the α group.¹

As expected, the rubrics found in F60, F61, and F65 are almost identical, particularly F61 and F65. The texts for these three manuscripts, as has been seen, are closely related. They also all contain the *Rothelin Continuation* and therefore form a distinct group from the other manuscripts.² Other *Rothelin* manuscripts—notably F53, F58, and F64—contain a different set of rubrics that is particularly distinctive in the later books. For example, in Books 20.11 and 22.6 the headings are identical. The rubrics in this group are also similar to those in some manuscripts—including F36, F37, F44, and F46—which lack the *Rothelin Continuation*.

It is clear that the rubrics were not part of the original translation, and it would seem were introduced after various continuations were added to William's text. It also appears a different set of rubrics were established whenever a new copy was made, regardless of the version of the text. As a result, similar rubrics are found in dissimilar manuscripts.

1 Edbury, 'Assassin Envoy', p. 34.

2 Morgan, 'Rothelin', p. 245.

The Continuations

Of the fifty-one surviving *Eracles* manuscripts, only six do not have an added continuation. These manuscripts comprise the first six in Folda's listing.¹ This statistic can be misleading, since F01 contains only the first sixteen books of the text, likely to have been bound in two separate volumes with the second having been lost. If so, it is possible it once contained a continuation. There are examples of manuscripts that originally followed with a shorter text. For example, F52 contains an *Ernoul*-based continuation followed by the *Rothelin* continuation, all the material added to a manuscript from 1184, since a blank folio at the end of the translation is followed in a different, apparently later, hand. Manuscript F54 is an example of the *Rothelin* text being added to a manuscript originally dated 1232.² Since several of the manuscripts have no continuation, or with a continuation added later, it appears that the translation originally circulated without a continuation. Since the manuscript tradition was already evolving before a continuation was added, any link between the texts of the translation simply based on a shared continuation are moot. In many instances, however, manuscripts share characteristics in the translation and in the continuation, as would be expected if they derived from a common original.

In Folda's list, manuscripts F30 to F51 all contain a recension of the *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* text that brings the narrative to 1232, or appear originally to have done so. Some, F49 for example, are missing concluding folios and may have contained a continuation that went beyond 1232. The *Ernoul* text is an anonymous, composite work that circulated independently of the translation of William of Tyre. Ernoul, the squire of Balian of Ibelin, is identified as the author of only a portion of the *Ernoul* text. His composition, as embedded in the text, described events up to and including 1187 giving Balian of Ibelin a prominent role. Other authors continued the narrative. Ernoul himself is not mentioned in the text that was eventually added to the translation. Peter Edbury has identified the continuation found in F38 as having the closest textual affinity of any of the *Eracles* manuscripts with the *Ernoul* manuscripts, in particular the Bern Bürgerbibliothek, 113, F24 in Folda's handlist. Manuscript F38 is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, surviving manuscripts to contain a continuation. The manuscript is unique in that it

¹ Folda, 'Handlist', p. 92.

² Edbury, 'Translation', p. 73.

includes *Ernoul* material interpolated into the text of the translation as well as added at the end, although this does not alter the fact that F38 also contains an early reading of the translation.³ One of the α group of manuscripts, F38 was selected as the base manuscript for the sample chapters of the translation since it appears to contain readings closer to William's Latin than the other manuscripts and presumably, therefore, closer to the original translation. In addition to the interpolated passages, F38 contains a number of unique historiated capitals and has recently been given an English provenance.⁴ Three other α group manuscripts from this group also contain the *Ernoul* continuation: F31, F35, and F41. None are particularly close to F38, though F31 and F35 form a subgroup by themselves. The problematic Fo6 is the only β group manuscript not to contain a continuation, evidence that the essential divisions between the α and β groups were extant prior to the continuations being added to the text.

There are also two λ manuscripts that contain the *Ernoul* continuation to 1232. One, F49, is mutilated and is intermittent in the account of events of 1187. It should probably be included with the *Acre Continuation* manuscripts as it is textually similar to them. The other λ manuscript that contains a continuation up to 1232 is F50. This manuscript is unique among the *Eracles* manuscripts. It begins with the *Colbert-Fontainebleu Continuation*, which is found in other λ_1 manuscripts, but the copyist or his antecedent then replaced exemplars with an *Ernoul* manuscript.⁵ It contains an extended description of the city of Jerusalem as it appears in the *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* but is found in no other *Eracles* manuscripts, but lacks an account of the election of Eraclius to the patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1180 and the comment on his moral laxity, which is present in all of the other *Eracles* manuscripts containing this continuation.⁶ This example of a change of exemplar indicates that various forms of continuation were available to the scribes of this group, which Folda associated with the scriptorium in Acre during the latter half of the thirteenth century.⁷

The *Rothelin Continuation*, which extends the narrative from 1231 to 1261, is added to the end of the *Ernoul* continuation in another group of manuscripts, F52 to F66. These are believed to have been of French provenance and, as a

3 Edbury, 'Continuations', p. 108–109.

4 Folda, 'Panorama', p. 253–280; Folda, 'Handlist', p. 94.

5 P. Edbury, 'Gerard of Ridefort and the Battle of Le Cresson (1 May 1187): The Developing Narrative Tradition', *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World*, ed. H.J. Nicholson (Aldershot 2011), p. 55–59.

6 Edbury, 'Continuations', p. 109–110.

7 Folda, 'Handlist', p. 94–95.

result, show a distinct grouping in the manuscript tradition.⁸ Most of these manuscripts are β manuscripts, and among the group sharing this continuation are a few that are closely related. One subgroup in particular comprises F60, F61, F62, F64, and F65. Closely related F32 and F58 both have the *Ernoul* continuation, but only F58 also contains the *Rothelin*. F58 may have been derived from a manuscript with a close affinity for F32 and that the further continuation was added to *Ernoul-Bernard*, but no evidence indicates that other *Rothelin* manuscripts are related to F32. Two *Rothelin* manuscripts are not in the β group of manuscripts. Manuscript F52 is an α manuscript that appears to contain a good reading of the translation without the errors found in β manuscripts. Manuscript F57 is a λ manuscript, generally close to F73, which contains a different continuation but contains some unique readings.⁹ The latter part of the *Rothelin* text is added rather clumsily.

These two manuscripts, F57 and F73, are among those with continuations that were copied in the Latin East. They contain what has become known as the *Colbert-Fontainebleu* version of the continuations, an extensive revision of the *Ernoul* continuation, probably composed in the late 1240s and extending to 1248. Three others—F50, F72, and F74—contain parts of this revision for the late 1180s, but it would appear that exemplars were changed, and thereafter they contain a text closely related to the *Ernoul* continuation, or in the case of F50, to *Ernoul-Bernard* itself. Manuscripts F7, and also F72, have a further revision of material relating to the late 1180s and early 1190s. Several other manuscripts—F69, F71, F77, and F78, along with F70 and F72—after the 1190s follow the *Ernoul*-based form of the continuation as far as 1232, and then switch to the *Colbert-Fontainebleu*, producing a hybrid text. The manuscripts break off at various dates. From 1248 they adopt an annalistic style, using material closely related to the *Annales de Terre Sancte* with a considerable interest in papal and other church-related affairs.¹⁰

There are certainly instances of affinities between manuscripts in which the text of the translation corresponds with the continuation, or its absence. This seems particular to manuscripts produced in Acre or in northern France, which would suggest that these scriptoria had copies of the text of continuations from which copies were made. It is also clear that the manuscript tradition had begun to develop prior to the addition of the continuations, and that similar continuations were added independently to different branches of the translation tradition argues against any idea that all manuscripts that contain a continuation were derived from an original text that included a continuation.

8 Folda, 'Handlist', p. 94–95.

9 Morgan, 'Rothelin', p. 252–253.

10 Edbury, 'Continuations', p. 110–112.

The Manuscript Stemma

There are significant groupings within the manuscript tradition of the Eracles text. The major division appears to coincide with the addition of material relating to the doctors who tended the emperor John II Komnenos of Constantinople, which matches Peter Edbury's division of the manuscripts into group α and β , the latter containing the information about the doctors. The fact that these features are found in Fo6, a mid-thirteenth-century manuscript without a continuation, indicates that these features developed in the manuscript tradition before continuations were added, probably in the mid- to late 1230s. A further split occurred when the text found its way to the East and developed independently from the Western manuscripts. This development separates Edbury's α group into α , the Western manuscripts, which are generally closer to the Latin and therefore to the original form of the translation, and λ , the Eastern manuscripts, which contain their own distinctive variant readings. These developments appear to have occurred early in the development of the tradition. There is evidence to suggest that the translation was made in the last years of the reign of Philip II, who died in 1223. Since manuscripts datable to c. 1250–60 have survived from all three groups, this leaves a window of only twenty to thirty years for these major divisions to have occurred.

The α group manuscripts—Fo1, Fo2, Fo3, Fo4, Fo5, F31, F35, F38, F41, and F52—generally follow the Latin text most closely. Apart from Fo2, they are all mid- to late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century manuscripts; Fo2 is a fifteenth-century manuscript that, despite its late date, is a good copy, often preserving early readings that come closer to the Latin than some other manuscripts from this group. Like Fo2, F38 is close to the Latin text and contains few errors. Although datable to the mid-thirteenth century, and, although, it is of English provenance it preserves readings better than surviving French manuscripts. Manuscript F38 stands outside the textual tradition associated with Paris—as does the iconography of its historiated capitals, including the famous image of William of Tyre examining Baldwin IV.¹ Another manuscript evidently close to the original translation is Fo5. This seems to be one of the earliest surviving illuminated manuscripts and has been dated to c. 1245–48

¹ F52, fol. 152v; cf. Folda, 'Panorama', p. 253–58.

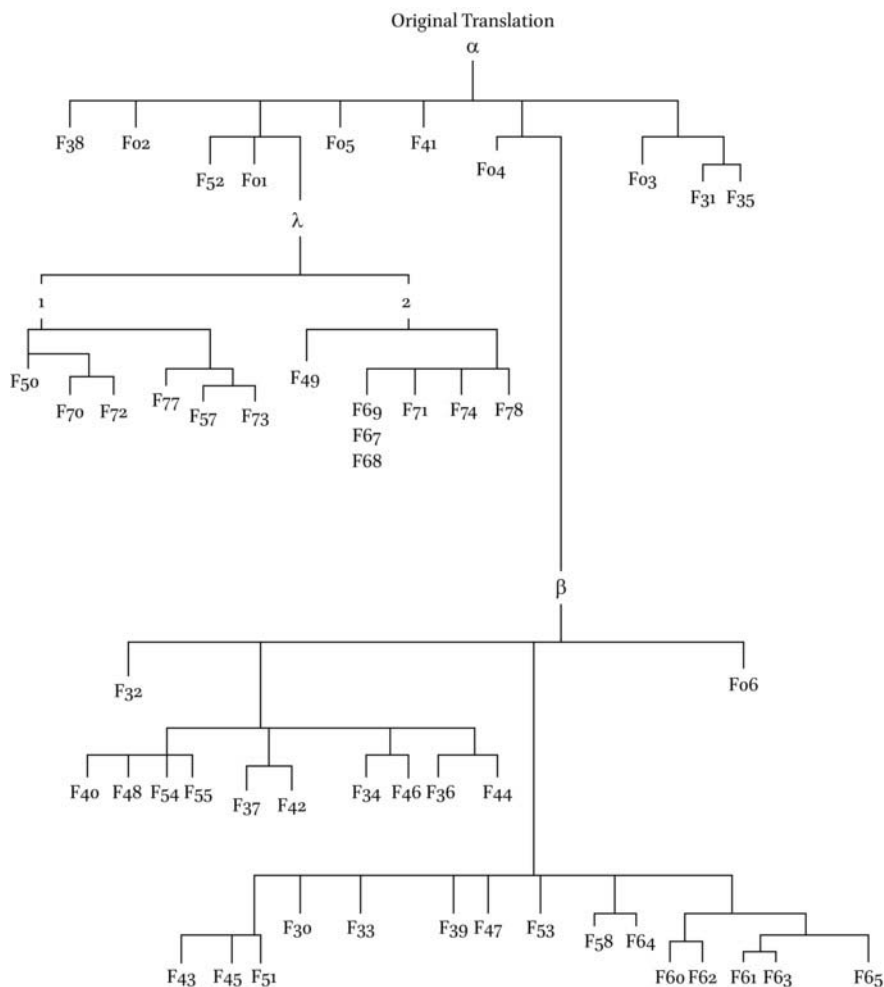


FIGURE 1 *L'Estoire d'Eracles: Manuscript Stemma*

and ascribed to a Paris workshop. Manuscripts F03 and F04 also appear to date to the first half of the thirteenth century but do not contain illuminations. Folda expressed uncertainty as to whether these two manuscripts were from the Latin East or France, but both have close affinities with other Western manuscripts.

Manuscripts F38, F41, and one of the manuscripts used by Paulin Paris, F52, also come close to the original translation, while the rest of this group—F01, F03, F04, F31, and F35—are further removed from the base text. Manuscripts F31 and F35 have numerous features in common and are closely related. As Folda noted, the affinity between these two manuscripts also extends to their

illuminations.² Manuscript F03 has a number of variants in common with F31 and F35, particularly in Book 20.11, indicating that they are distantly related. Manuscript F01, despite lacking the text from Book 16 onwards, is certainly a part of this group. It is likely that it once included a continuation as well. There are no major variants within the sample chapters that would closely link F01 with another manuscript, but it does share the 'alez chacier' reading in Book 15.22 with F52. Of greater significance, though, is the fact that both F01 and F52 omit Book 8.23, which would indicate that they are related.³ The fact that the 'alez chacier' is also common to the λ group manuscripts would suggest that these two manuscripts were in some way related to an initial manuscript taken to the East from which an independent tradition developed, a tradition that predates major divisions within the manuscripts.

Manuscript F04 contains a number of readings that are unique among group α manuscripts but are common to those in group β . Notably, F04 contains the erroneous reading of 'Egypte' in Book 12.1 that is a characteristic of the β group but not found in any other α or λ manuscripts. This manuscript clearly represents a stage in the development towards the β group tradition prior to additional material in Book 15.22 being added. If variants had found their way into the manuscript tradition before the continuation was added or before the first copy found its way to the East, then they must date from an early point in the manuscript tradition. That would imply that the translation became popular shortly after its first appearance and that interest in the crusades in both Europe and the Latin East existed at this time. Indeed, it is likely that the translation was made in response to an interest in the crusades with an especial appeal among those unable to access William's Latin text.

Group λ

The λ manuscripts have a number of readings that are characteristic of the whole group, but they can be divided into two smaller groups, labelled λ_1 and λ_2 . The λ_1 manuscripts are F50, F57, F70, F72, F73, and F77, while the λ_2 manuscripts are F49, F69, F71, F74, and F78. With the exception of F50, the λ_1 manuscripts are generally characterised by the presence of the addition 'reaume de France' to the Xerxes passage in Book 12.1. F50, however, contains a number of other variants that link it to this group, being particularly close to F70 and F72; these three manuscripts are alone in identifying the fleet in Book 11.14 as 'un

² Folda, *Saint-Jean d'Acre*, p. 148.

³ Edbury, 'Translation', p. 102–103.

navie de crestiens'. F50 is also linked with F77 in this same chapter in replacing 'bachelors' with 'chastelains'. Manuscripts F70 and F72 give a related variant of 'chevalier Chastelains avoit nom'. The fact that F50 does not contain all of the variants and errors found in the other manuscripts in this group suggests that it may represent an early form. It also contains part of the *Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation*, which links it with F57, F72, and F73, although the switch of exemplar part way through the narrative of 1187 sets it apart.

The most closely related members of this group are F70 and F72, due to a high number of similar variant readings. Manuscripts F57 and F73 are also closely related to each other but also share a number of similarities with F50 and F77 that distinguishes these manuscripts from F70 and F72.

The λ_2 manuscripts clearly belong in the λ group but lack the major variation regarding Xerxes that characterises the λ_1 group. Although F50 also did not have this variant, the λ_2 group also exhibits some features that distinguish it from F50 and the rest of the λ_1 group, for instance, replacing 'doner grant cop' with 'ferir parmi le cors' in Book 15.22. Manuscripts F71 and F78 have a number of similarities that closely link them to each other, although in their continuations F69 and F78 are particularly close. These also contain closely related miniatures by the same artist, whom Folda designated the 'Hospitaller' or 'Acre Master'.⁴ Manuscript F74 also shows a number of similarities with this group, except in Book 20.11, in which it appears closer to the λ_1 group. Alone among this group, F74 does not contain the additional 'que nus deust venir' at the end of Book 20.11 characteristic of this group. Interestingly, F70 and F72 are unique among the λ_1 manuscripts in containing a similar variant, 'que arme deust venir'. It is clear that a distinctive tradition, characterised by several readings, had been established among those manuscripts copied in the East. There are a few instances, however, in which manuscripts appear to contradict the divide. While this only occurs rarely, it is certainly plausible that, since all these Eastern manuscripts have been attributed to an Acre scriptorium by Folda, the traditions could have crossed in places.

The only exception to Folda's general rule, that the manuscripts produced in the East were made in Acre, is Fo6. This distinctive manuscript is clearly part of the Western β group tradition and is unrelated to the λ group of manuscripts. This Eastern tradition of the *Eracles* text did not end with the loss of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Both F67 and F68, fifteenth-century manuscripts copied in the West, can be shown to have been derived from F69, a late thirteenth-century manuscript from Acre. The survival of the Eastern tradition is also

4 Folda, *Saint-Jean d'Acre*, p. 85–92.

shown by F77, which we know from its colophon was produced in Rome in 1295, and F74, datable to c. 1291–95 from Lombardy. Manuscript F74 is of particular interest because in the sample chapters it is generally close to the λ_2 group except for Book 20.11, in which it is much closer to the λ_1 manuscripts. This would appear to indicate another instance of an exchange of exemplars, presumably when an antecedent manuscript was produced in the East. If both of these two subgroups developed within the Acre scriptorium, as seems likely, it would be easy for exemplars to shift if the manuscripts were not bound and were used in common by the various scribes of the scriptorium. That would support the argument that the scriptorium had its own copies and were not reliant on clients supplying a manuscript to be copied.

Group β

This group appears to have been a distinct branch of the manuscript tradition that developed in France, with Fo4 representing a transitional phase from the α group. The group includes several notable readings, in particular the names for the doctors in Book 15.22 and 'reaume de Egypte' in Book 12.1. The majority of surviving *Eracles* manuscripts belong in this group and are almost all of a Western provenance. The only possible exception is Fo6, for which Folda ascribed an Antioch provenance of c. 1260–68. This manuscript is unusual in many respects. Its alteration of 'Acre' to 'Ascalon' in Book 11.14 seems to imply a general knowledge of Eastern affairs. The only other manuscripts that also appear to contain similar corrections are the Acre manuscripts F70 and F72. That would favour Fo6 being an Eastern manuscript. However, the rest of the manuscript—the marginalia referring to David I of Scotland, in particular, and the fact that it was owned by the queen of Norway—at least, proves that this manuscript was kept in the West. Apart from the reading of 'Ascalon', Fo6 contains all of the hallmarks of the group β manuscripts, although it is clearly distinct. Folda had trouble identifying the provenance of Fo6. He described the chapter initials as being 'French-type' while its historiated initials as similar to earlier crusader texts from Jerusalem, Acre, and Sicily. In particular, he identified the capital for Book 6 as showing a specific knowledge of the walls and city profile of Antioch, as well as similarities with Antiochene coinage. He also identified in the capital of Book 12.1 similarities with thirteenth-century Arabic manuscripts. In conclusion, Folda identified a scribe with a southern Italian background, with French and Byzantine influences, who was working in Antioch.⁵

5 Folda, 'Crusader Manuscript', p. 283–298; Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 348.

The alternative solution, however, is that the manuscript was produced in the West, perhaps in Italy, by a scribe working from a Western, group β exemplar, perhaps with some knowledge of the East. That would avoid positing a location for an unknown scriptorium, perhaps in Antioch.

The remainder of this group are also difficult to place on a stemma, since a number of variants negate attempts to establish links between the manuscripts. There are, however, a few distinct groupings. Manuscripts F60 and F62 are clearly related, as are F61 and F63. Manuscript F65 also appears related to the latter two manuscripts. These five manuscripts form a distinct group. Manuscripts F58 and F64 are related and have similarities to F53 and, to a lesser extent, F51 and F55. Manuscript F54 appears to be related to F55 in Book 11.14 but not in any of the other sample chapters. Manuscripts F37 and F42 have similarities, especially in Books 11.14 and 20.11, that link them together despite the fact that they are not particularly close in Book 22.6. The rest of the manuscripts appear distantly related, with the degree of similarity varying throughout the text.

Several of these manuscripts contain unique variants. This is particularly true of F45, which is alone in including the 'Huitace' additions. Manuscript F45 appears related to F43, but only distantly, since it does not share these additions. In general F32, F34, and F39 appear to hold the best readings for this group, with F30 and F33 also containing readings that are closer to the original translation than the large majority of β group manuscripts. However, all contain variants; F32 has variants similar to F51 and F53 in Books 15.22 and 20.11. The later manuscripts in this group generally tend to have numerous variants and a degree of abridgement; this is particularly true of F36 and F44. The similarity in some of these manuscripts has been found in studies of the miniatures. Robert Branner identified F45 and F51 as being particularly closely related and likely to have originated from the same atelier.⁶ He associates F43, textually linked to these two manuscripts, with a different workshop, along with F48.⁷ This would indicate that there is not necessarily a link between the text of a manuscript and its miniatures. While these manuscripts appear to have been produced in the same scriptorium, or at least to have come from similar exemplars, a different artist completed the miniatures. That suggests that the artists may have been independent from the scriptorium, with the miniatures added subsequent to the production of the manuscript, rather than being added by an in-house artist. This also implies that the *Eracles* text could

6 R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris During the Reign of Saint Louis: A Study of Styles* (Berkeley, 1977), p. 80, 95.

7 Branner, p. 81, 84.

have been purchased without miniatures to be taken to an independent artist who would add the miniatures. In addition, Folda noted that F78, an Acre manuscript, contains the styles of two different artists. He considers that it was originally partly completed and then completed by a different artist.⁸ Not only could different artists illustrate manuscripts that were textually close but it is possible that there would be a considerable delay before the illuminations and decorated initials were added.

The fact that these manuscripts while generally related to each other, but with few direct connections, suggests that a number of exemplars were used in their production. While making it difficult in establishing a stemma, it does prompt suggestions about the process by which these manuscripts were produced. If someone wished to obtain a manuscript copy of the Old French William of Tyre, he could have borrowed one that belonged to someone else and had a copy made. If that were the normal practice, the process would result in a neat family tree of manuscripts with each subsequent manuscript containing the various errors of the exemplars plus a few further mistakes made by the copyist. That, however, is not the case with the *Eracles* manuscripts, particularly those of the β group. The fact that manuscripts seem to have relationships in certain chapters but are then completely different in another chapter suggests that at least one change, and in some cases several changes, of exemplars would have occurred. That in turn suggests that the scriptoria producing these manuscripts held several copies of the text, and that these copies were more likely to have been loose signatures than bound manuscripts. That would have made it easier for the scribes to copy the text, but would have introduced a variety of variants, as exemplified in the manuscript tradition.

8 Folda, *Saint-Jean d'Acre*, p. 78.

Conclusion

As the translator reminded his readers, it was William of Tyre who wrote the history of the Latin East found in *L'Estoire de Eracles*. Due to the high regard in which he held William, the translator was on the whole faithful to the text. The translator, at no point, specifically identified himself, when he was working or where. As a result, we are dependent on an examination of the text for answers. He appears to have had a good understanding of Latin, following the original narrative fairly closely. At times he provided a word-for-word translation of the Latin, but in general he altered the text to suit the vernacular Old French. In general, the translation repeats William's viewpoints and opinions. In consequence, it is difficult to distinguish the translator and his motives.

That is not to say that no changes were made to the text. Many can be termed 'stylistic alterations' and have no significant bearing on the narrative, even those alterations that added or omitted material. William's numerous quotations from, and references to, biblical and classical sources may have been in order to display his erudition, but they effectively elaborated statements. Often his statements tended to repeat information already discussed. The translator omitted most of these quotations and references in order to simplify the text and give it a more colloquial style of prose. The larger omissions made by the translator, such as the papal letters discussing the rights of the churches in Antioch and Bethlehem as well as the speech by Urban II at Clermont, conform to this style. The translator summarised these passages to become part of the narrative.

Although historians understandably use William's original Latin text when studying the history of the Latin East in the twelfth century, the *Eracles* text should not be neglected, as has generally been the case. In addition to simplifying the text to suit a vernacular language and a wider audience, the translator made changes to the text that make it possible to identify the translator, establish a rough date for the translation, and shed light on the translator's cultural milieu. The information added by the translator can provide historians with a means of explicating William's *Historia* by bringing attention to scenes that William either omitted or presented in order to influence his readers, a point of view that differs from that found in the translation.

This is particularly true of the altered description of Renaud de Châtillon. While the translator did not completely remove William's criticism of Renaud, he did present a more positive view of Renaud, portraying him as having been wronged and attempting to explain his actions. The translator shows that

Renaud's invasion of the Byzantine province of Cyprus came about as the result of the emperor's refusal to pay him for preventing the Armenian Toros's incursions into Byzantine territory, and seeks to justify the attack. Although he acknowledged atrocities were committed on the island, he significantly shortened the list as reported by William and noted that Renaud should not be held responsible for everything that happened during a time of war. The translator does not appear to have had particular links with Renaud and did not provide any factual information about him. His evidently more positive view would indicate that William's depiction of Renaud as being a self-serving mercenary was not universally shared. Peter of Blois had been far more positive about him, and the Arabic accounts, in which Renaud holds a more prominent role in defending the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, may be nearer to the truth.

While the translator was careful to identify William as the original author and did not use other sources to add to William's text, he did add information. These generally short statements serve as glosses to William's material. Many of these pertain to France or to French crusaders and, while it is possible that he had other written sources that he was mining for information, it is more likely that the additions were based on the translator's personal knowledge of the topic. They generally involve the addition of background information to locations, as, for example, happens with Boulogne, or adding names to people or events, such as Eleanor of Aquitaine or the battle of Tinchebray. The recurrent focus on people and events relating to the French monarchy, as well as the constant use of the term 'France', indicate that the translation of William of Tyre was part of a historiography developing towards the end of the reign of Philip II, a time when several vernacular histories of France and the crusades were being produced.

Most of the translator's additional information can be verified from other sources, as is true of his naming of Eleanor as the wife of Louis VII or his statement that Philip of Flanders died on the Third Crusade. There are instances, however, in which the translator added information that is otherwise unknown. The fact that other additions are able to be verified suggests that these additions may deserve credence. An example of this is the statement that Pope Adrian IV was responsible for moving the Augustinian abbey of St Ruf from Avignon to Valence due to disputes with the people of Avignon. What is known is that the abbey was moved following a disagreement with the cathedral chapter and that Adrian had previously resided in the abbey. Can we believe that the translator seventy years later was correct in his belief that the pope was involved in re-locating the abbey? Arguably the translator had visited the abbey during a journey from France to Italy, and perhaps the information was related to him by the canons. Quite possibly the translator was himself an Augustinian. Several

of his additions seem to have some bearing on the Augustinian order, whether they be criticising the laxity of those in the East or relating the burial place of the bishop of Banyas in the abbey of St Victor in Paris, itself an Augustinian house. The translator's concerns with the French monarchy could posit that he may have been based at St Victor or connected with it in some way. While no hard evidence of this exists, and he may have done no more than visit the abbey, it would seem that he was working somewhere within the Île de France and had a greater interest in the French royal house than in any other Western European family.

The translator was also aware of events elsewhere in northern France. He shows knowledge of Anglo-Norman England, particularly in regard to Thomas Becket. It is possible that he travelled down the Rhône and south into Italy, as is shown by a series of additions to William's text. This journey south could have been part of a pilgrimage to the East, supported by information relating to the Latin East and to Egypt that show the translator's knowledge of the weather, geography, and customs of the area. The translator seems to have had a personal interest in the Latin East that enabled him to produce an excellent translation of William of Tyre's *Historia*.

The translation would appear to date between the capture of the city of Damietta by the Christians during the Fifth Crusade in November 1219 and the death of Philip II in 1223, although it may have been begun or been completed a few years either side of these dates. This was a time of increased interest in the crusades and the Latin East with other crusade literature, such as the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* and *La Chanson d'Antioche*, being produced. Although the Fifth Crusade did not involve major members of the French nobility, the translator's continued insistence throughout the text that it was the *gent de France* who had conquered Jerusalem on the First Crusade suggests that he was reminding his readers, particularly the laity, that it had been the French nobility that had been responsible for establishing the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. This was a time of increased interest in the fortunes of the crusader states when the nobles, and the king himself, were being encouraged to once again go on crusade to the East and to re-conquer the lands won by their ancestors.

Once the translation of William of Tyre's *Historia* was made available it became very popular, as is clear from the number of extant manuscripts. Several significant variant readings developed within a decade or so of its appearance, resulting in the emergence of two distinct branches in the manuscript tradition. This division is characterised by two major points in the sample passages selected. The first occurs in Book 12.1. The beginning of this chapter is a comparison of Baldwin II and the Persian ruler Xerxes and is present in nearly all of the manuscripts. Those manuscripts that do not contain

this passage are extensively mutilated and it is likely that they originally contained this passage. Most of the manuscripts in the group, labelled as α by Edbury, read that Xerxes 'avoit grant contens au reaume de Grece'. This statement is factually correct, and since these manuscripts elsewhere can be shown to be closer to the Latin than other manuscripts, that appears to be the original reading of the translation. Several of the Eastern tradition manuscripts add 'et reaume de France' but retain the base reading. Manuscripts in this group are clearly closely related to the rest of the group but form their own subgroup. The only α manuscript to contain a significantly different reading is Fo4, which reads 'avoit molt grant contens au reaume d'Egypte'. This reading links Fo4 strongly with the other group of manuscripts identified by Edbury, labelled β , which contain the same reading. The switch from 'Grece' to 'Egypte' is clearly an error but is present in a large number of manuscripts and clearly denotes a division in the manuscript tradition. The only manuscript from the β group that does not contain this reading is F34, which reads 'Persse' instead of 'Egypte'. However, it also includes the additional 'molt' that is characteristic of this group and clearly belongs with the rest of these manuscripts. The 'Persse' reading is unique to this particular manuscript and is possibly an attempt to correct the error.

The second major division between the α and β manuscripts occurs in Book 15.22 and involves the inclusion of additional material relating to the doctors of Emperor John II Komnenos. The group α manuscripts follow William's text in relating that after his hunting accident, the emperor called his doctors but they were unable to heal his wounds, from which he died. The β manuscripts, in contrast, name these doctors as 'Dans Hues de Pierrefons et Dans Gautier et tant des autres que je ne vous savroie nommer'. The additional readings are found in all of the β group manuscripts, but are not in any of the α manuscripts. While this additional information does not seem to have been introduced by the translator, it must have been introduced shortly after the translation was made. The names of these doctors are not found in any other source, and the accuracy of the information cannot be ascertained.

Further readings serve to distinguish the β group from the rest of the manuscripts, but these are compromised by instances in which portions of the text are missing, likely due to homeoteleuton. Manuscript F45 has the further additional material referring to Huitace, the dean of Charmentré, being buried in the abbey of St Victor, which would seem to indicate that the copyist of this manuscript (or of its direct antecedent) had an interest in this person, and has been lost from all others. In other words, this manuscript preserves a unique variant in the text. There is no reference to Huitace in any other source. Manuscript Fo6 is the only other manuscript from this group that might

indicate a copyist who had personal knowledge of events in the East, beyond what was presented in an exemplar, by replacing 'Acre' with 'Ascalon' in Book 11.14, but, again, this manuscript is unique in the β group, and contains several readings that distinguish it from the rest of the manuscripts.

The *Eracles* manuscripts can be clearly divided into these two broad groups, with the α group containing manuscripts that are closest to the Latin and therefore the original translation. The fact that these divisions are seen in some of the earliest manuscripts and also manuscripts that do not contain continuations indicates that this bifurcation in the manuscript stemma developed shortly after the translation was made. The original *Eracles* manuscripts were made in the West, most likely in the Île de France, and seem to have remained popular, with the β group of manuscripts being the most prevalent. While the α manuscripts were still in circulation, Foz being a fifteenth-century manuscript, the majority come from the mid- to late thirteenth century. An early version of the text, one that did not contain the β variants, was taken to the East, creating another division from the α group that has been termed the λ group. These manuscripts developed in isolation, with several variant readings common to them all. Several points divide these manuscripts into two further subgroups. Folda has suggested, however, that these manuscripts were all produced in a single scriptorium in Acre, or are derived from those that were. The λ manuscripts share readings that indicate that they are descended from a single exemplar. There is also evidence of hybridisation between the two groups. A prime example of this is F74, which apparently vacillates between the two groups. The likely explanation is that the copyist used exemplars from both groups, supporting the theory that both versions were to be found in a single scriptorium.

While none of the λ manuscripts contains the significant β group readings, such as the names of the doctors in Book 15.22 or the 'Egypte' variant in Book 12.1, there are places where these manuscripts contain similar minor variants to some of the β manuscripts. This also seems to be linked with the division of the λ group, since occasionally λ_1 and λ_2 seem at different points to agree with β manuscripts. These variant readings generally involve cases of homeoteleuton or omissions that cannot be said to definitely link the manuscripts. There does, however, seem to be some relationship, particularly with those λ manuscripts that were produced in the West following the loss of Acre in 1291, where exemplars could have been mixed with those from a β group manuscript.

The α and λ manuscripts can be sorted into a manuscript stemma, but the same cannot be said of the β manuscripts. There are simply more manuscripts in β group than in either α or λ , but manuscripts from this group continued to be copied throughout the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, with a resulting span of time in which variations could appear in the manuscript

tradition. Nearly all the manuscripts have been attributed to north or central France or, in the fifteenth century, Flanders, the only possible exception being Fo6. That again would seem to indicate that the manuscripts were being produced in scriptoria where there was ample opportunity for the mixture of exemplars. This is borne out by an examination of the manuscripts themselves. While there are close ties between some of the manuscripts from this group, there are numerous instances in which variants appear to link two manuscripts in only one section of the text, but no grounds for regarding them as related appear. Taken as a whole, these manuscripts are interrelated, but it is not possible to produce a stemma for the group that would locate each manuscript in its relation to the original translation. A couple of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, F36 and F44, are to be located furthest from the original translation, as both contain extensive abridgments of the text. Some, however, seem closer to the original translation. These, predictably, tend to be the earliest manuscripts, in particular Fo6, F32, F34, and F39. All of these, Fo6 especially, contain so many errors and variants that it is impossible to select a single manuscript to study.

Of the two nineteenth-century editions of *L'Estoire d'Eracles*, that of Paulin Paris appears to present a reading of the text that is closest to the original translation. The main argument for this is that while Paris mainly used F38 and F52, both of which are α manuscripts and appear to preserve an early version of the text, the *RHC* edition is largely based on F45, which is a β manuscript that contains several unique readings and cannot be considered to represent an early form. Paris, however, introduced readings into his text that he found in the *RHC* edition but were not found in the manuscripts that he used. As a result, while his edition generally contains a better reading, it contains numerous variants that cannot be attributed to the translator. The editors of the *RHC* edition used a manuscript from lower on the stemma than Paris but gave a far more accurate representation of their manuscript. Historians should be careful when using either of the editions, due to errors found in both.

The chapters in all the manuscripts that contain the significant variants have been studied in detail in order to distinguish what is thought to be the original translation from late variations in the manuscript tradition. In addition, several of the early manuscripts, taking examples from each group, have been consulted in their entirety and no significant alteration beyond what has been discussed were found. While it is hoped that this work will provide a significant tool for historians using this text to study the history and literature of medieval Europe and the Latin East, a new critical edition of the entire text is required in order to finally establish the original text of the translation and to identify other variants buried within the manuscript tradition of the *Eracles* text.

Appendix

Sample Chapters with Full Apparatus Containing All of the Variants to the Text, Including Minor Unique Readings and Fifteenth-Century Redactions of the Text

Book 7 Chapter 22

Based Upon F02 and F38

α	λ1	λ2	β	
F01 80r	F50 88r-v	F49 76v-77r	F06 67r-v	F47 44r
F02 49v-50r	F57 75r	F69 69r-v	F30 52r-v	F48 54v
F03 48r	F70 78v	F71 MS	F32 50v-51r	F51 54v
F04 35v-36r	F72 71r	mutilated	F33 67v-68r	F53 78v-79r
F05 74v-75r	F73 61r	F74 93v-94r	F34 54v	F54 86v-87r
F31 70v-71r	F77 92r-v	F78 87r-v	F36 69r-v	F55 27v
F35 59r-v			F37 104v-105r	F58 59r
F38 39v			F39 138	F60 69r
F41 129v			F40 47v-48r	F61 63r
F52 59v-60r			F42 96r	F62 MS 22496
			F43 62v	73r
			F44 93r-v	F63 72v
			F45 61v-62r	F64 74r
			F46 lacks	F65 110v-111r

Au¹ tiers jour² vindrent devant³ la cité de⁴ Baruth; sur⁵ un flum qui queurt⁶ devant⁷ se⁸

1 Au] El F33; Le F37 F44; et au F50 F57 F73.

2 jour] jour apre ensint les crestiens F44.

3 devant] a F34; F41 lacks.

4 la cité de] F74 lacks.

5 sur] et sur F44.

6 qui queurt] F30 lacks; queurt] cort i qui F50; court iluec F57 F73 F77.

7 queurt devant] devant court F44.

8 se] F52 lacks.

logierent.⁹ Li bailli de la ville¹⁰ leur donna grant loyer¹¹ et leur fist venir¹² assez¹³ viandes¹⁴ a¹⁵ bon¹⁶ marchie¹⁷ pour espargnier les arbres et les blese¹⁸ des¹⁹ terres.²⁰ L'endemain²¹ vindrent a²² la cité²³ de²⁴ Saiette. La²⁵ se logierent sur un flun²⁶ ou il tornerent²⁷ assez pres de illec.²⁸ Cil²⁹ qui gardoit³⁰ la cité ne leur voust³¹ onques faire³² bonté³³ nulle.³⁴ Je ne sai en quoi il se fioit³⁵ mais³⁶ il³⁷ envoa³⁸ de sa³⁹ gent

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- 9 sur un flum qui queurt devant se logierent] et se logierent sur ung flum qui court devant F36 F37 F42.
 10 ville] cité F44; de la ville] F64 *lacks*.
 11 loyer] dons F61 F65.
 12 fist venir] dona F30 envoa F61 F65; venir] touner F69.
 13 assez] Fo1 Fo4 F49 F58 F74 F78 *lack*; largement F37 F42.
 14 assez viandes] viandes asses F30 F34; donna grant loyer et leur fist venir assez viandes] fist grant dons et envoa buirce a plent F36.
 15 a] et a Fo3 Fo6 F31 F36 F37 F44 F45 F48 F62 F69 F73 F78.
 16 bon] grant F43.
 17 marchie] marchie et asses lor en dona F77.
 18 blese] biens F37 F47 F63; leus F49, fruis F70 F72; arbres et les blese] blez et les arbres F45.
 19 des] qui estoient sur F65.
 20 pour espargnier les arbres et les blese des terres] F36 *lacks*; donna grant loyer...terres] envoya grans dons et biens et vitailles a grant marchie F44.
 21 L'endemain] et l'endemain F43 F45 F57; Le l'endemain F65.
 22 a] devant F44.
 23 a la cité] Fo5 *lacks*.
 24 la cité de] F50 F73 F77 *lack*.
 25 La] et la F50.
 26 La se logierent sur un flun] et sur ung fleune se logierent F44.
 27 ou il tornerent] que il troverent Fo1 F50 F53 F54 F57 F60 F72 F73 F77; que il tornerent Fo2 F36 F40 F42 F55 F58 F64; ou il troverent F30 F31 F35 F49 F69 F74 F78; qui cort F43 F45; courante F44; ou cort F51.
 28 illec] la cité F44.
 29 Cil] Le capitaine F45.
 30 Cil qui gardoit] Le Cappitaine de F44; gardoit] gouvernoi et gardoit F42.
 31 voust] F34 *lacks*.
 32 onques faire] fere onques F58.
 33 faire bonté] bonté fere Fo4.
 34 faire bonté nulle] firent nulle bonté F34; faire nulle coutoisie F36; faire bonté F50 F77; bonte faire F57 F73; faire nulle bonté F37 F42 F69 F70 F74 F78; nulle] aucune F65.
 35 Je ne sai...fioit] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*.
 36 mais] F61 *lacks*.
 37 mais il] ainz F57 F73 F77.
 38 envoa] envoa fors F70.
 39 sa] F72 *lacks*.

assez⁴⁰ hors⁴¹ pour⁴² faire dommage a⁴³ l'ost.⁴⁴ Ilz commencierent a⁴⁵ hardoyer et a⁴⁶ atainer⁴⁷ chevaliers⁴⁸ qui pres⁴⁹ estoient⁵⁰ logié⁵¹ tant que cilz ne le⁵² porent plus⁵³ souffrir⁵⁴ ains monterent es⁵⁵ chevaus et⁵⁶ leur corurent⁵⁷ sus. Ne⁵⁸ sai quanz en⁵⁹ occistrent.⁶⁰ Li⁶¹ autre s'en foinrent⁶² en la cité ne⁶³ n'orent⁶⁴ puis⁶⁵ talent⁶⁶ de noz⁶⁷ gens⁶⁸ atainer,⁶⁹

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- 40 de sa gent assez] assez de sa gent F05 F06 F30 F31 F35 F35 F50 F57 F73 F77; beaucoup de sa gent F42; assez] F37 F43 F44 F45 F51 *lack*.
- 41 hors] F30 F37 F62 F73 *lack*.
- 42 pour] pour eus F30.
- 43 a] en F06 F32 F33 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F58 F54 F63 F64; F30 *lacks*; a ceulz de F60 F62.
- 44 l'ost] F30 *lacks*; nostre ost F50 F57 F70 F73; noz F61; noz gens F65; nostre gent et a nostre ost F77; Je ne sai...l'ost] ainchois fist saillit ses gens hors por grever l'ost F36.
- 45 a] F74 *lacks*.
- 46 a] F03 F35 *lack*; Ilz commencierent a hardoyer et a] et pour F37 F42.
- 47 atainer] atair F05; trainer F31; atainer aucune F37 F42; atraire F50 F77 F69 F74 F78; traier F73; commencierent a hardoyer et a atainer] envahirent aucune F36.
- 48 chevaliers] a ceus F50 F57 F73 F77; a chevaliers F74.
- 49 pres] pres d'aus F31.
- 50 estoient] de eus estoient F49 F69 F74 F77 F78.
- 51 pres estoient logié] estoient logiez pres se la cité F36; logié] dans logier F57 F73; herbeges F69 F74 F78.
- 52 le] F34 F53 F57 *lack*.
- 53 plus] F01 F52 *lack*.
- 54 tant que cilz ne le porent plus souffrir] tellement que ceus ne se peure plus endurer F37 F42.
- 55 es] en leur F06 F32 F39 F40 F43 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F62 F63 F70 F72; sor leur F45 F47 F53 F61 F64 F65; auz leur F48.
- 56 ains monterent es chevaus et] F30 *lacks*; si F36.
- 57 corurent] coururent vigoureusement F37 F42.
- 58 sus. Ne] et ne F50 F57 F73.
- 59 en] F70 *lacks*.
- 60 Ne sai quanz en occistrent] si en ocistrent F30; et en ocisent ne sai quans F31 F35; Ilz en occirent je ne say quanz F37 F42.
- 61 Li] et li F36 F37 F42 F50 F57.
- 62 foinrent] flurent F01; s'en foinrent] se retrairent F36.
- 63 cité ne] cité qui puis ne F50 F57 F73 F77; cité et ne F49 F69 F74 F78.
- 64 n'orent] ilz n'eurent F37.
- 65 puis] F50 F73 *lack*.
- 66 puis talent] talent puis F03.
- 67 noz] leur F51.
- 68 gens] F41 *lacks*.
- 69 atainer] adamager F30; trainer F31; aregnier F69; de noz gens atainer] d'atainner noz genz F58; de grever noz gens ne leur corre sus F65.

si⁷⁰ que toute⁷¹ celle nuit se reposèrent li nostre⁷² mout⁷³ en pais.⁷⁴ Au⁷⁵ matin pour⁷⁶ reposer⁷⁷ la menue gent⁷⁸ ne se murent⁷⁹ de illec ains⁸⁰ envoierent⁸¹ fourriers⁸² par les villes⁸³ entor⁸⁴ et gens armées qui⁸⁵ les gardassent.⁸⁶ Cil apor-
rent⁸⁷ vitailles⁸⁸ a⁸⁹ hommes et⁹⁰ a⁹¹ chevaux,⁹² a⁹³ mout⁹⁴ grant plenté.⁹⁵ Bestes⁹⁶ amenerent⁹⁷ assez⁹⁸ grans et⁹⁹ petites¹⁰⁰ et¹⁰¹ s'en revindrent tuit ensamble¹⁰²

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- 70 si] tellement F37 F42.
 71 toute] F30 *lacks*.
 72 li nostre] F31 F35 *lack*; se reposèrent li nostre] nos gens se resposèrent F37 F42; nostre] noz gens F65; nies F70.
 73 mout] tout F45 F51 F49 F57.
 74 mout en pais] F30 *lacks*; n'orent puis talent...pais] ainsi noz gens reposèrent celle nuit en paix F36.
 75 Au] Le F36.
 76 pour] por eulx F36; pour bien F42; F63 *lacks*.
 77 reposer] reposer et raffreschir F37 F42.
 78 menue gent] pietons F36.
 79 murent] partirent une F37 F42.
 80 pour reposer la menue gent ne se murent de illec ains] F30 *lacks*; ains] et F36; ainz en F43.
 81 envoierent] envoierent ilec F45.
 82 fourriers] fors F01; fouragier F36; en fourrage F37 F42.
 83 villes] viles la F43; vile d'iluec F51 F57.
 84 entor] F54 *lacks*.
 85 qui] por F34 F61 F65.
 86 gens armées qui les gardassent] gens qui les gardassent armes F70; gardassent] garder F61 F65.
 87 aporèrent] amenerent F77.
 88 vitailles] viandes F31 F35 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; 1 argement vitailles et F42.
 89 a] et F34 F49 F50.
 90 et] F49 *lacks*.
 91 a] F50 *lacks*.
 92 a hommes et a chevaux] F30 *lacks*; chevaux] femmes F61 F65.
 93 a] F01 F04 F05 F31 F32 F33 F37 F38 F39 F40 F41 F42 F55 F58 F60 F64 F69 F73 F78 *lack*; et F70 F72.
 94 mout] F06 F74 *lack*.
 95 plenté] quantité F37 F42.
 96 bestes] et bestes F50 F57 F73 F77; de bestes F32 F37 F39 F40 F42 F47 F48 F49 F53 F54 F55 F58 F61 F62 F65 F69 F70 F72.
 97 amenerent] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*.
 98 assez] de F37; F48 *lacks*, et F51; assez et F57; assez en i ot de F58 F64.
 99 et] et de F58 F64.
 100 assez grans et petites] et granz presanz F43 F45 F51; grans et petites] petites et granz F47.
 101 bestes amenerent assez grans et petites et] F30 *lacks*; grans et petites] et de grandes et de petites F42.
 102 grans et petites...ensamble] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 F78 *lack*.

sans rien perdre¹⁰³ fors un¹⁰⁴ seul¹⁰⁵ chevalier qui avoit¹⁰⁶ nom Gautier de Ver.¹⁰⁷ Cil¹⁰⁸
 ala espoir¹⁰⁹ trop¹¹⁰ avant mais¹¹¹ il ne revint¹¹² mie¹¹³ ne oncques puis¹¹⁴ ne¹¹⁵ sot¹¹⁶
 l'en¹¹⁷ que il¹¹⁸ devint; mout¹¹⁹ en furent tuit¹²⁰ courroucié en l'ost.¹²¹ Le jour¹²² apres¹²³
 passerent¹²⁴ par mout aspre voie¹²⁵ et¹²⁶ descendirent apres¹²⁷ par¹²⁸ uns¹²⁹ destroit¹³⁰

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- 103 ensamble sans rien perdre] F30 *lacks*; perdre] prendre F31 F35.
 104 un] un tout F30.
 105 tuit ensamble sans rien perdre fors un seul] sans riens predre tous enssamble si non tant
 seullement uns F37; tous enseble sans rien perdre se non ung chevalier tant seulement
 F42; seul] F49 F74 *lack*.
 106 avoit] out F01; entor et gens...avoit] si curent vinres a plente et ni perdirent si non ung
 chevalier F36.
 107 Ver] nevers F69 F74 F78; vin F62.
 108 cil] qui F36; et cil F57 F73 F77.
 109 espoir] par sa baillance F37 F42, un poi F50 F57 F73 F77; par fortune F65.
 110 espoir trop] si F30 F36, trop] tout F78.
 111 mais] par quoi F50 F57 F73 F77; oir F52.
 112 revint] retourna F37.
 113 mie] pas F60 F61 F62 F63; mais il ne revint mie] F65 *lacks*.
 114 mais il ne revint mie ne oncques puis] F30 F36 *lack*.
 115 ne] que l'en que F36.
 116 sot] sout F01.
 117 l'en] hom F50 F57 F73 F74 F78.
 118 ne oncques puis ne sot l'en que il] ni cet l'om qui F34.
 119 mout] si F30.
 120 tuit] F50 F57 F73 F77 *lack*.
 121 mout en furent tuit courroucié en l'ost] si en furent cil de l'ost molt courechie F30; dont ilz
 furent tres dolans F36; bonté nulle. Je...l'ost] punt plaisir ne courtoisie aux pelerins ains a
 son povoir leur porroit grant dommage. Et advint ung jour que par son commandement
 en yssi de la cité grant nombre por venir su l'ost. Quant les crestiens les appercevrent ilz
 montrent a cheval et serirent si asrement sus leurs ennennz que presques tous les abar-
 vent et mistrent a mort et tellement furent menez que depuis ne sematirent sus les crest-
 iens. Et illes se reposerent l'endemain tout le jour for aucuns qui par le pais allerent querir
 vitailles tant vous hommes que pour chevaux et tant adinerent que tous en ovent
 l'argement F44; en l'ost] F69 F74 F78 *lack*.
 122 Le jour] F30 F53 *lack*.
 123 apres] en suivant F44; F45 F57 *lacks*.
 124 passerent] ilz passerent F36, apres passerent] passerent apres F54.
 125 mout aspre voie] aspre F44.
 126 et] et puis F36.
 127 apres] F36 *lacks*; et descendirent apres] F43 F45 F51 *lack*.
 128 par] F70 *lacks*.
 129 uns] F36 *lacks*.
 130 destroit] destroit leus a destre F43 F45; destroiz a destre F51.

es plains.¹³¹ A destre¹³² laisserent¹³³ celle¹³⁴ ancienne cité¹³⁵ qui a non¹³⁶ Sarepte¹³⁷ ou Helies li profetes fu.¹³⁸ Puis passerent une eaue qui queurt¹³⁹ entre¹⁴⁰ Sur¹⁴¹ et Saiete.¹⁴² Tant alerent¹⁴³ que il vindrent a¹⁴⁴ cele noble¹⁴⁵ cité de Sur. La¹⁴⁶ se logierent¹⁴⁷ devant¹⁴⁸ la¹⁴⁹ tresnoble¹⁵⁰ fontaine,¹⁵¹ qui si¹⁵² est renommée, qui est fontaine¹⁵³ des cortiz¹⁵⁴ et puiz¹⁵⁵ des eues¹⁵⁶ vivanz¹⁵⁷ si com dit l'escripture.¹⁵⁸ Es jardins mout¹⁵⁹ delitables¹⁶⁰ furent¹⁶¹ une¹⁶²

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- 131 plains] plain païs F44.
 132 A destre] F62 *lacks*; senestre F65.
 133 apres par uns...laisserent] F52 *lacks*.
 134 celle] une F44.
 135 A destre laisserent celle ancienne cité] a cele cite lessierent a senestre F45.
 136 qui a non] de F36.
 137 Sarepte] la cité F43; Sarsent F49 F50 F57 F69 F70 F73 F74 F77.
 138 fu] fu né F41 F44 F62 F70 F72 F77; fu natis F36; fu envoyé et F57 F73.
 139 une eaue qui queurt] F30 *lacks*; queurt] passé F37; qui queurt] droit F52.
 140 entre] entre les cités de F44.
 141 Sur] lui F33; sure F53.
 142 Saiete] Sarphent F50; Sarsent F57 F73.
 143 alerent] errerent F36; Tant alerent] cheminierent F37; cheminerent avant F42; s'en alerent tant F69.
 144 a] devant F74.
 145 cele noble] la noble F50 F57 F73 F77.
 146 La] si F36; ou ilz F44; et la F50 F57 F73.
 147 logierent] logierent illec F36.
 148 devant] delez F37 F42; pres Fo6.
 149 la] cele F31.
 150 tresnoble] noble Fo6 F30 F37 F42; haute F50 F73 F77; terre noble F69 F78.
 151 fontaine] cité F43 F45 F51 F60; cité fontainne F61 F62 F63 F65; cité fontainne F64.
 152 si] tant F36.
 153 qui si est renommée qui est fontaine] Fo6 F30 F31 F32 F33 F34 F35 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72 *lack*.
 154 cortiz] jardins F36.
 155 puiz] pres Fo6.
 156 eues] eues douces F32.
 157 vivanz] F43 F45 F51 F62 *lack*; coranz F58 F64.
 158 devant la tresnoble...l'escripture] F44 *lacks*; et puiz des eues vivanz si com dit l'escripture] si com dit l'escripture el puis des eiues vivans F70.
 159 Es jardins mout] En une leue F49.
 160 delitables] delittables et la F44.
 161 mout delitables furent] qui furent molt delitables virent F54; furent logies F65.
 162 une] celle F34 F37.

nuit.¹⁶³ Quant¹⁶⁴ il fu adjourné¹⁶⁵ il¹⁶⁶ se mistrent¹⁶⁷ a la voie.¹⁶⁸ Il¹⁶⁹ passerent uns
 destroiz mout perilleus¹⁷⁰ qui sunt¹⁷¹ entre les monteignes et la mer.¹⁷² Il¹⁷³ descen-
 dirent es plains de la cite d'Acre. Iluecques¹⁷⁴ delez¹⁷⁵ la cité,¹⁷⁶ sur¹⁷⁷ une eue corant,¹⁷⁸
 tendirent leur paveillons.¹⁷⁹

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- 163 es jardins mout...nuit] Il furent es jardins molt delitables une nuit F31; qui est fontaine...
 nuit] et si courant la ou il a si richez jardinz si comme dist l'escriture. En celui lieu si del-
 itable furent une nuit F50 F57 F73 F77; furent une nuit] F63 *lacks*.
 164 Quant] et que F30; Et quant F31.
 165 adjourné] hour F65.
 166 il] F05 F31 F41 *lack*, et F51 F53; si F70; Quant il fu adjourné il] L'endemain F44.
 167 mistrent] remistrent F04 F05 F31 F35 F37 F38 F41 F49 F69 F78.
 168 il se mistrent a la voie] F03 F36 *lack*; voie] chemin F37 F42 F65.
 169 Il] F02 *lacks*; si F31, et F06 F39 F40 F43 F44 F51 F53 F65; et il F50 F57 F73 F77.
 170 perilleus] destroit F63.
 171 sunt] siet F40; est F44 F49 F50 F53 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F72.
 172 mout perilleus qui...mer] qui est entre les montaignes et la mer molt perillous F70.
 173 il] F02 *lacks*, si F06; et F44 F55 F58 F70 F72.
 174 Iluecques] F30 F53 *lack*; et iluec F50 F57.
 175 delez] au pres de F36; pres F57 F73; pres de F50 F77.
 176 delez la cité] F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F43 F42 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54
 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72 *lack*; cité] mer F34.
 177 sur] La sour F53; de sur a F57 F73.
 178 corant] si F69 F74 F78.
 179 tendirent leur paveillons] se logierent F77.

Book 11 Chapter 14

Based Upon F02 and F38

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
F01 125r-v	F50 141r-v	F49 123r-v	F06 106v	F47 68v
F02 75r-v	F57 119v-	F69 165r-v	F30 96r	F48 85r
F03 77r-v	120r	F71 A80v	F32 80r	F51 85r
F04 54v-55r	F70 117r-v	F74 145r-v	F33 101r	F53 121v
F05 121v-	F72 113v	F78 133v	F34 84r	F54 86v-87r
122r	F73 95v-96r		F36 109v	F55 70v-71r
F31 112v	F77 128v-129r			F58 96r-v
F35 88r			F37 165r-v	F60 104r-v
F38 62v			F39 218	F61 94v-95r
F41 158v			F40 100v	F62 MS 22496 110v-111r
F52 94v			F42 153v-154r	F63 104v
			F43 96v-97r	F64 117r
			F44 135r	F65 180r-v
			F45 97v	
			F46 MS mutilated	

Ne¹⁸⁰ demora gueres¹⁸¹ en cele saison meismes,¹⁸² que la novele¹⁸³ de la terre¹⁸⁴ d'outremer¹⁸⁵ qui ainsi¹⁸⁶ estoit¹⁸⁷ conquise et¹⁸⁸ ou l'en guerroit¹⁸⁹ les ennemis¹⁹⁰

180 Ne] Le F61 (*Ne marginalia*).
181 gueres] F52 *lacks*; gaires que F60 F61 F62.
182 Ne demora gueres en cele saison meismes] En cele saison meisme ne demora gaires F 31; en cele meisme saison F42 F44; meismes] F37 *lacks*; saison meismes] meismes saison F57.
183 novele] novele vint F30; nouvele de la nouvele F57.
184 de la terre] F30 F36 *lack*.
185 que la novele de la terre d'outremer] F61 F65 *lack*.
186 ainsi] ici F49; si F70 F72.
187 estoit] avoit esté F43 F45 F47 F51 F53.
188 et] F49 F50 F69 F71 F72 F78 *lack*.
189 guerroit] grevoit F69 F71 F74 F78.
190 ennemis] ennemis de F37 F42.

Nostre Seigneur,¹⁹¹ fu alee¹⁹² jusques¹⁹³ en¹⁹⁴ Occident en la terre¹⁹⁵ qui a¹⁹⁶ nom Noroegue.¹⁹⁷ Assez i¹⁹⁸ ot¹⁹⁹ chevaliers²⁰⁰ et autres gens a²⁰¹ qui²⁰² li²⁰³ talens prist²⁰⁴ du²⁰⁵ pelerinage²⁰⁶ por aler²⁰⁷ au Sepuchre.²⁰⁸ Ilz apareillerent bele²⁰⁹ navie²¹⁰ et se mistrent ens par la mer d'Engleterre. S'en²¹¹ alerent²¹² jusques ilz²¹³ vindrent en la mer d'Acre.²¹⁴ Puis²¹⁵ arriverent²¹⁶ au port de Japhe. Sires²¹⁷ et chevetaines²¹⁸ de cele navie²¹⁹ estoit²²⁰ un moult²²¹ beaus bachelers,²²²

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- 191 et ou l'en guerroit les ennemis Nostre Seigneur] F36 *lacks*.
 192 alee] allee outré mer F57.
 193 jusques] F60 F62 *lack*.
 194 en] F32 *lacks*.
 195 terre] mer F72.
 196 a] ot F51 F53.
 197 Noroegue] Norweie F50.
 198 Assez i] a plenté] F36.
 199 i ot] F51 F53 *lack*.
 200 chevaliers] de chevaliers F48.
 201 a] λ2 F01 F05 F31 F38 F50 F57 F73 *lack*.
 202 qui] F41 *lacks*.
 203 li] F30 F36 F60 *lack*; a F37 F42 F64.
 204 talens prist] prist talent F34.
 205 prist du] prist voulente d'ilec F36.
 206 pelerinage] pelerinage d'outremer F77.
 207 por aler] F36 *lacks*; du pelerinage por aler] d'aler en pelerinage et F45 F60 F61 F62 F65.
 208 Sepuchre] saint sepulchre F37 F53 F65.
 209 bele] buene F43.
 210 navie] F60 *lacks*.
 211 S'en] Si s'en F47 F55 F61.
 212 s'en alerent] F36 *lacks*; par la mer d'Engleterre s'en alerent] s'en allerent par la mer d'angleterre F37 F42.
 213 S'en alerent jusques ilz] tant qu'il F50; Tant alerent qu'il F70 F72.
 214 S'en alerent jusques ilz vindrent en la mer d'Acre] F31 F74 *lack*; d'Acre] F36 *lacks*.
 215 Puis] et F58 F64.
 216 arriverent] arresterent et se ancrerent F36.
 217 Sires] Souverain seigneur F37 F42.
 218 et chevetaines] F36 *lacks*.
 219 navie] galie F58 F64; et se mistrent...navie] F69 *lacks*.
 220 Sires et chevetaines de cele navie estoit] si estoit chevetaines de cele navie F30; de cele navie estoit] estoit de cele navie F34 F36 F45 F51 F53; fu de cele navie F71 F74 F78; estoit] F47 *lacks*.
 221 moult] F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 *lack*.
 222 de cele navie...bachelers] estoit uns biaux bachelers de cele navie F60 F61 F62 F65; bachelors] chevalier Chastelains avoit nom F70 F72; chastelains F50 F77.

blons²²³ et grans²²⁴ et bien fez,²²⁵ frere²²⁶ le roi de Noroegue.²²⁷ Quant²²⁸ ilz²²⁹ furent arivez ainsi²³⁰ pour rendre²³¹ leur veus²³² et²³³ parfaire²³⁴ lors²³⁵ pelerinages²³⁶ s'en²³⁷ alerent en Jherusalem.²³⁸ Quant²³⁹ li Rois oi la²⁴⁰ noveles²⁴¹ de²⁴² la venue de²⁴³ cele gent, hastivement s'en²⁴⁴ vint²⁴⁵ a eus et²⁴⁶ grant joie leur fist²⁴⁷ et leur envoya beaus²⁴⁸ presenz. Mout se acointa debonnairement²⁴⁹ de ces haut²⁵⁰ home qui estoit chies²⁵¹ des autres.²⁵²

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- 223 blons] bons Fo4.
 224 blons et grans] granz et blons F48; grans] blans F6o F6i F62 F65.
 225 un moult beaus...fez] F36 *lacks*.
 226 frere] le frere du F36; blons et grans et bien fez frere] F49 *lacks*.
 227 que la nouvele...Noroegue] se mistrent en mer des parties d'occident de la terre nonmee norweghe grant nombre de chevaliers et autres vaillans homes pour aller en pelerinage au saint sepulcre et tant furent qu'ilz arriverent au port de jaffe de celle compaignie estoit chies hault prince frere du roy de norweghe F44; Noroegue] Norgales F5o.
 228 Quant] Et quant F38.
 229 Quant ilz] Et aussi l'ost qu'ilz F44.
 230 arivez ainsi] ainsy arriviez F37; ainsi] il issirent F5o F72; il issirent a terre F7o.
 231 render] faire Fo2.
 232 veus] pelerinage F48.
 233 et] et pour F6i F65.
 234 parfaire] por parfere F48 F6o F62.
 235 lors] le Fo4.
 236 ainsi pour rendre leur veus et parfaire lors pelerinages] F36 *lacks*; pelerinages] veuz F48.
 237 s'en] ilz s'en F36; F58 F64 *lack*; et s'en F7o; si s'en F77.
 238 Quant ilz furent...Jherusalem] F69 F7i F74 F78 *lack*.
 239 Quant] F3o F54 F55 F58 F64 *lack*; Et quant F6o F62.
 240 la] Fo1 F38 F4i F49 F5o F52 F53 F57 F73 *lack*; ces F74 F78.
 241 noveles] verité F33.
 242 la noveles de] Fo4 F32 F34 F37 F4o F42 F48 F54 F55 *lacks*.
 243 la venue de] Fo6 F3o F33 F39 F43 F45 F47 F5i F53 F58 F6o F6i F62 F64 F65 F69 F7i F74 F77 F78 *lack*; de] a F5o F57.
 244 s'en F44 *lacks*.
 245 vint] prist Fo6 (*vint marginalia*); ala F7i.
 246 et] Fo1 Fo5 F37 F39 F4o F4i F42 F48 F49 F5o F52 F55 F57 F58 F6o F62 F64 F69 F7o F7i F72 F73 *lack*.
 247 grant joie leur fist] lour fist molt grant joie F3o.
 248 beaus] de beaus Fo6 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F4o F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F5i F53 F54 F55 F58 F6o F6i F62 F64 F65; molt bel F3i.
 249 debonnairement] F3o *lacks*.
 250 haut] grant F5o F7o.
 251 chies] chievetains F3i; chies et souverain F37; riches et chies F64.
 252 et leur envoya...autres] honnourablement les recut grans presens leur donna et fort s'acointa du prince qui estoit chies de sa compaignie F44.

Puis²⁵³ leur demanda se ilz²⁵⁴ avoient proposement,²⁵⁵ pour²⁵⁶ Dieu²⁵⁷ et pour l'onneur²⁵⁸ de²⁵⁹ la Crestienté, que ilz demorassent²⁶⁰ en la terre tant, que par la volenté Nostre²⁶¹ Seigneur²⁶² et par²⁶³ leur²⁶⁴ aide,²⁶⁵ l'en²⁶⁶ eust conquis aucune²⁶⁷ des²⁶⁸ cités des²⁶⁹ Sarrasins²⁷⁰ qui²⁷¹ sieent²⁷² sur²⁷³ la mer.²⁷⁴ Ilz pristrent conseil entr'eus²⁷⁵ et respondirent que²⁷⁶ par tele intencion,²⁷⁷ qu'ilz servissent Nostre Seigneur, estoient ilz meuz²⁷⁸ de leur²⁷⁹ pais et venu jusques la.²⁸⁰

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- 253 Quant li Rois...Puis] Si tost que li roi sceut la venue de celle nation il s'en vindrent eulx et les receu honnourablement puis leur envoia de beaux presens moult s'aquointa de ce hault home et F36.
- 254 ilz] lui et ses compaignons F45.
- 255 se ilz avoient proposement] pria moult chierement F37; leur pria chierement F42; intencion de F44.
- 256 pour] por amor de F48.
- 257 Dieu] l'amour de dieu F42; server nostre seigneur F44.
- 258 pour l'onneur] F37 *lacks*; l'onneur] F50 F57 F73 *lack*.
- 259 l'onneur de] F65 *lacks*.
- 260 demorassent] retournaissent F60; ne retournaissent F65.
- 261 Nostre] de nostre Fo6 F32 F33 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F48 F51 F53 F54 F57 F65 F71 F73 F77; et par nostre F72.
- 262 Nostre Seigneur] F69 F74 *lack*.
- 263 proposement, pour Dieu...par] intention de non partir de la terre tant que par la volenté de nostre seigneur et moienat F36.
- 264 leur] sa lor Fo2.
- 265 par la volenté Nostre Seigneur et par leur aide] F30 *lacks*; leur aide] aide lor F69 F74.
- 266 l'en] F69 F74 *lack*.
- 267 aucune] une F34.
- 268 des] Fo1 F30 F36 F49 F69 F71 F74 *lack*; des cez F54.
- 269 des] que li F57 F73.
- 270 Sarrasins] sarrasin tenoient F57 F73.
- 271 qui] F32 *lacks*.
- 272 siéent] estoient Fo6 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F48 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F65 F73; des Sarrasins qui siéent] F47 F51 F53 *lack*.
- 273 qui siéent sur] par F43.
- 274 qui siéent sur la mer] F36 *lacks*; mer] marine F37 F57 F47; des Sarrasins qui siéent sur la mer] par la marine aux sarrasins F45 F53; sur la mer] de la marine F47 F51; des Sarrasins... mer] de la marine qui estoient des sarrasins F50 F70 F72.
- 275 et pour l'onneur...entr'eus] F44 *lacks*; entr'eus] F60 F61 F62 *lack*.
- 276 que] F50 F69 *lack*.
- 277 intencion] cause F44.
- 278 meuz] venu Fo1 F53 F69 F74; parti F34.
- 279 leur] nostre F43.
- 280 Ilz pristrent conseil...la] Il se conseilla puis respodi que il estoit parti de sa terre a celle intention F36.

Et²⁸¹ prometoient bien²⁸² le roi²⁸³ que, se²⁸⁴ il voloit²⁸⁵ asseoir une²⁸⁶ des²⁸⁷ citez²⁸⁸ de la marine,²⁸⁹ menast²⁹⁰ son ost par terre il²⁹¹ menroient leur²⁹² navie²⁹³ par mer²⁹⁴ et volontiers lui²⁹⁵ aideroient²⁹⁶ selon leurs²⁹⁷ pooir²⁹⁸ a²⁹⁹ bone foi.³⁰⁰ Quant³⁰¹ li rois³⁰² oi leur proposement,³⁰³ grant joie en³⁰⁴ ot³⁰⁵ et sans demorance³⁰⁶ fist semondre³⁰⁷ tant³⁰⁸ com il pot avoir de chevaliers³⁰⁹ en son regne.³¹⁰ Puis³¹¹ amena tout³¹²

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- 281 Et] si F61 F65.
 282 prometoient bien] tres bien prometoit F36; bien] F44 F53 F60 F74 *lack*.
 283 le roi] roi le F38; bien le roi] le roy bien F69.
 284 se] F69 *lacks*.
 285 voloit] F43 F45 F47 F53 *lack*; voloit le roy F69.
 286 une] nule F43 F45 F47 F53; aucune F44 F55 F58 F64F69 F74 F78.
 287 des] de ces F36; F62 F71 *lack*.
 288 une des citez] aucune ville F74.
 289 marine] marine qu'il F36 F42.
 290 menast] et menast F03 F35; si menast F31.
 291 il] et qu'il F36; et il F69.
 292 leur] son F36; le suen F51.
 293 navie] F43 F51 *lack*.
 294 il menroient leur navie par mer] F03 *lacks*; mer] la mer F44.
 295 lui] F69 *lacks*.
 296 volontiers lui aideroient] lui aideroient molt volontiers F30; F36 *lacks*; aideroient] aideroient a bone foi F70.
 297 leurs] son F54 F74.
 298 pooir] pooir que il avoient λ1 λ2.
 299 a] en F04.
 300 selon leurs pooir a bonne foi] F30 F36 *lack*; en bonne foy aumoit selon leur pouvoir F37; a bonne foy selon leur pouvoir F42.
 301 Quant] et quant F61.
 302 li rois] rois le F38.
 303 proposement] proposement et bonne volenté F42; response F44 F65.
 304 en] grant Foi.
 305 grant joie en ot] si en ot grant joie F30; si en ot molt grant joie F31; ce il en fu bien joieux F36; ot] oult et grandement les mercia F44.
 306 et sans demorance] si F30; demorance] arrest F36; sans demorance] incontinent F65.
 307 fist semondre] semondre fist F77.
 308 tant] tant pou F06.
 309 com il pot avoir de chevaliers] chevaliers com il pot avoir F01 F04 F35 F50 F69 F78; de chevaliers come il pot avoir F06 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F49 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F64 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77; de chevaliers qu'il peust finex F65; de chevaliers] F37 *lacks*.
 310 regne] conroi armé F45 F64; conroi F52.
 311 fist semondre tant...Puis] assembla son pouvoir F44.
 312 tout] F01 F70 F72 *lack*.

son³¹³ ost³¹⁴ devant³¹⁵ la cité de Saiette.³¹⁶ Une³¹⁷ grant³¹⁸ navie de Turs³¹⁹ estoit³²⁰ meue³²¹ de la cité³²² d'Acre,³²³ por venir³²⁴ aidier a lor gent³²⁵ de Saiette,³²⁶ si que pres que³²⁷ tuit³²⁸ ensemble vindrent³²⁹ cil dui ost³³⁰ cele³³¹ part.³³² Saiette,³³³ cele cité,³³⁴ siet³³⁵ sur la mer³³⁶ entre Baruth et Sur³³⁷ en³³⁸ la province³³⁹ de Fenice;³⁴⁰ moult³⁴¹ a³⁴² beau siege³⁴³ de³⁴⁴ vile.³⁴⁵ Anciene citez est

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- 313 son] son avoir F38.
 314 amena tout son ost] vint F36; et vint F44.
 315 com il pot...devant] sa gent si en mena tout sa gent F30; devant] en F45 F47 F51.
 316 Saiette] Acre F57.
 317 Une] D'autre part une F37 F42.
 318 grant] F37 *lacks*.
 319 de Turs] Fo6 *lacks*; de crestiens F50 F70 F72.
 320 estoit] restoit Fo6 F30 F30 F33 F36 F57 F70 F72 F73 F77; partie F37 F42 F65; re estoit F57 F70; i avoit F58 F64.
 321 meue] venue F57; partis F65.
 322 de la cité] F64 *lacks*.
 323 d'Acre] de Ascalon Fo6; de Sur F57 F73; estoit meue de la cité d'Acre] F34 *lacks*.
 324 por venir] venoit por F34.
 325 lor gent] ceus F34 F36 F60 F61 F62; secourir ceulx F65.
 326 une grant navie...Saiette] Fo1 F31 F41 F48 F49 F51 F52 F53 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
 327 que] Fo1 Fo2 Fo5 Fo6 F30 F33 F34 F36 F39 F40 F54 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
 328 tuit] F34 *lacks*.
 329 tuit ensamble vindrent] vindrent tuit ensamble Fo6; ensemble vindrent] vindrent ensamble F50 F57.
 330 vindrent cil dui ost] deux ost estoient venus F36; ost] F57 *lacks*.
 331 cele] d'une F48.
 332 Ne demora gueres...part] F63 *lacks*.
 333 Saiette] de F74 F78; F69 *lacks*.
 334 cele cité] F36 *lacks*; Saiette cele cité] Celle cité Saiete F37 F42 F57; la cité de Saiete si F43 F45 F47 F53; cele cité] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.
 335 siet] si est F49.
 336 mer] marine F57 F71 F73; sur la mer] F70 *lacks*.
 337 cele part. Saiette...Sur] F30 *lacks*; Une grant navie...Sur] F44 *lacks*.
 338 en] qui est F44; et F49 F77.
 339 province] terre F44.
 340 Fenice] Sur F36; en la province de Fenice] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.
 341 moult] et mout F74.
 342 a] i Fo6 F43 F45 F47 F51 F53 F54 F60 F62 F63.
 343 a beau siege] siet biau F57 F73; siege] situation F37 F42.
 344 de] cele F57 F70 F72 F73.
 345 moult a beaus siege de vile] F30 F36 *lack*.

moult.³⁴⁶ Sydon,³⁴⁷ li fils³⁴⁸ Canaam, la fonda dont ele tient³⁴⁹ encore le³⁵⁰ nom selon le³⁵¹ latin.³⁵² Ele³⁵³ est³⁵⁴ desouz l'arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes ancienes³⁵⁵ escriptures.³⁵⁶ Dido en fu nee,³⁵⁷ la roine³⁵⁸ qui fonda Cartage.³⁵⁹ Li Rois assist cele vile³⁶⁰ par mer et³⁶¹ par terre.³⁶²

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- 346 moult] molt plasians F31; plaisans F35 lacks text prior to this point; ancienne citez est moult] elle est moult ancienne citez F36; si est molt ansiene cité F70; moult a beau...citez est moult] Cest cité est moult ancienne et bien assise F44.
- 347 Sydon] F31 F36 F44 F69 F74 F78 *lack*.
- 348 li fils] F01 F02 F03 F04 F05 F06 F31 F32 F33 F34 F36 F38 F39 F41 F43 F45 F47 F48 F50 F51 F52 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 F69 F70 F71 F72 F73 F74 F77 F78 *lack*; et F74.
- 349 tient] a F50 F57 F73 F77; en tient F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
- 350 le] son F57.
- 351 le] F69 F74 F77 *lacks*.
- 352 Sydon li fils Canaan la fonda dont ele tient encore le nom selon le latin] F37 F42 *lack*; latin] latin de sydoine F70.
- 353 Ele] et elle F74.
- 354 est] iert F71 F78.
- 355 ancienes] F31 F35 F57 F73 *lack*.
- 356 Ele est dessouz l'arceveschie de Sur. De ceste cité parlent maintes ancienes escriptures] F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 *lack*; escripture] estoirs F41.
- 357 en fu nee] la fonda F71 F74 F78; F69 *lacks*.
- 358 la roine] F32 F43 F47 F45 F51 F53 F54 F60 F61 F62 F65 *lack*; Dido en fu nee la roine] la royne Dido en fut nee F37 F42.
- 359 Cartage] la cité de Cartage F32 F43 F45 F47; De ceste cité...Cartage] maintes ansienes escriptures dient que Dido la royne qui fonda Cartage en fu nee F70 F72.
- 360 vile] cité F36 F44 F57 F71 F73; ville et F43.
- 361 par mer et] F30 *lacks*.
- 362 mer et par terre] terre et par mer F04 F06 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; et par terre et par mer F72.

Book 12 Chapter 1

Based Upon F38

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
F01 135v	F50 152v	F49 MS mutilated	F06 115r	F47 73v
F02 78r	F57 129v		F30 MS mutilated	F48 92r
F03 83v	F70 125v	F69 116r	F32 86r	F51 91v
F04 59r	F72 123v	F71 A90r	F33 MS mutilated	F53 131r
F05 132r	F73 103r	F74 157r	F34 90v	F54 147r
F31 132r	F77 136v	F78 142v	F36 112r	F55 80r
F35 94v			F37 177v	F58 104v
F38 67v			F39 235	F60 112v
F41 166r			F40 80r	F61 102v
F52 102r			F42 165r	F62 118v
			F43 104r	F63 111v
			F44 MS mutilated	F64 126r
			F45 102r	F65 192r
			F46 MS mutilated	

Xersés³⁶³ fu uns puissans rois de la terre qui a non Aise et avoit³⁶⁴ grant contenz³⁶⁵ au roiaume³⁶⁶ de Grece.³⁶⁷

363 Xersés] Persés F01 F04 F31 F35 F37 F40 F52 F54 F60 F64 F65 F69 F74 F78; Cersés F34 F61 F62, Yersés F42; Sersés F51; Rerxés F57.

364 avoit] avoit molt F04 β .

365 contenz] debat F37 F42; gent F43 F45 F47 F51; plente de gens F53.

366 roiaume] terre F36.

367 Grece] Egypte F04 F06 F32 F33 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F57 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; Persse F34; France et au royaume de Grece F57 F70 F72 F73 F77.

Book 15 Chapter 22

Based Upon Fo2 and F38

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
F01 179v	F50 216r	F49 187r-v	F06 157v-158r	F47 100v-101r
F02 104v	F57 181v-182r	F69 165r-v	F30 131v-132r	F48 127r-v
F03 117r	F70 172r-v	F71 A141r	F32 118v-119r	F51 125r-v
F04 78v-79r	F72 171r-v	F74 220r-v	F33 149r-149v	F53 MS mutilated
F05 187r	F73 144r-v	F78 198r-v	F34 125r	F54 198r-v
F31 168v-169r	F77 168v-169r		F36 147r	F55 124r
F35 135r-v			F37 118v-119r	F58 148r-v
F38 97v-98r			F39 330-331	F60 151v-152r
F41 205v-206r			F40 100v	F61 139v
F52 142r			F42 189v-190r	F62 MS 22497 3r
			F43 143v	F63 153r
			F44 189v-190r	F64 174r-v
			F45 132r	F65 254v-255r
			F46 MS mutilated	

Lors³⁶⁸ ne demoura mie³⁶⁹ que³⁷⁰ l'emperere³⁷¹ vit le tens assouagier.³⁷² Mes encore ne trouvoit l'en³⁷³ mie³⁷⁴ par les chans³⁷⁵ asses³⁷⁶ pasteures³⁷⁷ aux³⁷⁸ chevaux. Pour ce

368 Lors] A lors F43 F45; Aprez ce F44.

369 mie] gaires Fo5 F30 F44 F65; mie guaires F42; F74 *lacks*.

370 que] quant F43.

371 l'emperere] le empereur de Costantinoble F44.

372 assouagier] abelir F42; tens assouagier] printemps aproucher F44.

373 l'en Fo1 F33 F44 *lack*.

374 mie] pas Fo6 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F70 F72; F40 *lacks*; point F65.

375 par les chans] F43 F45 F51 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 F70 F72 *lack*.

376 asses] F52 *lacks*.

377 asses pasteures] herbe β .

378 par les chans asses pasteures aux] herbe par les chans F34; herbe par les pres pour les F37 F42; aux] pour F44 F65.

ne vout mie³⁷⁹ encores³⁸⁰ esmouvoir ses osts.³⁸¹ Sur³⁸² touz autres deduis il amoit archoier³⁸³ en³⁸⁴ bois.³⁸⁵ Un³⁸⁶ jour avint³⁸⁷ qu'il i³⁸⁸ fu³⁸⁹ alez³⁹⁰ o pou de compaignie³⁹¹ de chevaliers.³⁹² Il³⁹³ se³⁹⁴ fu³⁹⁵ affustez³⁹⁶ et tint son arc³⁹⁷ tout³⁹⁸ tendu³⁹⁹ et une saiete encochie. Li veneour et li vallet⁴⁰⁰ l'empereour⁴⁰¹ orent⁴⁰² aceint un⁴⁰³ buisson⁴⁰⁴ ou il avoit grant plante⁴⁰⁵ de bestes. Si les commencierent⁴⁰⁶ a⁴⁰⁷ adrecier

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- 379 mie] F34 *lacks*; il F44.
 380 mie encores] encore pas F06.
 381 ses osts] F30 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*; Lors ne demoura...osts] En ce tandis le printemps revint dont l'empereur fu moult joieux car F36.
 382 Sur] mais sor F31 F35.
 383 archoier] a chacier F42; chacier F44 F65; atraire F49; F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
 384 archoier en] la chasse des F36.
 385 il amoit archier en bois] F69 *lacks*.
 386 Un] et un F44.
 387 avint] avint que un jor F05; li avint F43; il amoit archoier...avint] F31 *lacks*.
 388 i] F01 F06 F30 F34 F42 F45 F54 F60 F61 F63 F65 λ₁ λ₂ *lack*.
 389 fu] estoit F65.
 390 alez] alez chacier F01 F52 λ₁ λ₂; ales en bois F30 F42 F43; fu alez] alla F44.
 391 compaignie] compaignie son arc en sa main tout tendu a poi de compaignie F31; compaignie] conpaignie en bois F33 F39.
 392 il i fu alez...chevaliers] a petite compaignie il estoit ale jouer au bois F36; de chevalierz] F44 *lacks*; chevaliers] chevaliers en bois F45 F47 F54 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; compaignie de chevaliers] chevaliers de compaignie F72.
 393 Il] F48 *lacks*.
 394 se] F34 F50 F57 F73 *lack*.
 395 fu] F73 *lacks*.
 396 affustez] bien montez F50; afustez a un chesne F54; montez sor un bon chaceor F57 F73; arestes F72; monte F77.
 397 arc] arc en sa main F35; Il se fu afustez...arc] Il tint une saiete tout encochiee en son arc F36.
 398 tout] F72 F74 *lack*.
 399 tendu] F74 *lacks*.
 400 et li vallet F30 F36 *lack*; vallet] varlet de F42; Li veneour et li vallet] Li escuier et li varlet et li veneour F60 F62; escuier et li veneour F61 F65; valet et li veneour F63.
 401 l'empereour] F36 F48 F54 *lack*.
 402 orent] avoient F42.
 403 vallet l'empereour aorent aceint un] F74 *lacks*.
 404 buisson tout entor l'empereur F54.
 405 grant plante] plenté grant F33.
 406 commencierent] prindrent F36.
 407 a] F37 *lacks*.

tout droit⁴⁰⁸ vers le fust⁴⁰⁹ ou⁴¹⁰ l'empereour se tenoit.⁴¹¹ Uns senglers en⁴¹² issi⁴¹³ premiers⁴¹⁴ trop⁴¹⁵ granz⁴¹⁶ et passa⁴¹⁷ devant⁴¹⁸ l'empereour. Quant⁴¹⁹ il le vit,⁴²⁰ si grant volenté⁴²¹ ot⁴²² de li⁴²³ doner⁴²⁴ grant⁴²⁵ cop,⁴²⁶ que il⁴²⁷ entesa⁴²⁸ sa⁴²⁹ saiete⁴³⁰ jusques⁴³¹ au fer au⁴³² descochier se⁴³³ navra⁴³⁴ en la main. La saiete estoit entouschiée.⁴³⁵ Tantost⁴³⁶ li venin li⁴³⁷ commenca⁴³⁸

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- 408 a adrecier tout droit] tout droit amener Fo1; tout droit adrecier F31 F35 F50 F57 F73 F77 λ2; droit] F32 *lacks*.
- 409 vers le fust] la Fo6 F30 F32 F34 F36 F37 F40 F42 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F61 F64; cele part F31 F35; F33 F39 F43 F58 F60 F62 F63 F65 *lack*; vers la F64.
- 410 ou] cel ou F72.
- 411 se tenoit] estoit Fo6 F31 F35 F42; F30 F34 *lack*.
- 412 en] s'en F30.
- 413 issi] issi treiot F58.
- 414 premiers] F43 F74 *lack*; premiers que merveilles estoit F47; devant F54.
- 415 trop] F47 *lacks*.
- 416 trop granz] F02 F30 *lack*; en issi premierz trop granz] F36 *lacks*; Uns senglers en issi premiers trop granz] un trop grant senglers s'en issi F70 F72.
- 417 passa] passa par Fo6.
- 418 devant] par devant F42 F43; vers F74; en issi premierz...devant] moult grant s'en tira tout droit a F65.
- 419 Quant] et quant F30 F31 F35.
- 420 vit] vit venir vers lui F57 F73.
- 421 grant volenté] F30 *lacks*.
- 422 si grant volenté ot] si ot si grant volent F31; si ot grante volenté F35; ot] lui vint F36; li prist F43.
- 423 ot de li] li puis de F72.
- 424 doner] ferir F52; li doner] doner li Fo6 F42 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72; doner F47.
- 425 grant] un F31; ung F42; un grant F47.
- 426 doner grant cop] ferir parmi le cors λ2.
- 427 doner grant cop que il] ferir si F30.
- 428 entesa] tendi F72.
- 429 sa] la F02 Fo6 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F42 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F61 F64 F72; sa la Fo3.
- 430 saiete] saiete tres toute F58.
- 431 jusques] deschi F31 F35.
- 432 au] et au F31 F57 F65.
- 433 se] il se F42.
- 434 se navra] il s'en bleca F36; navra] blessa F65.
- 435 entouschiée] entoschiee de venin Fo1; empoisonne F36; envenimée F42.
- 436 Tantost] et tantost F31; et F42.
- 437 li] F50 *lacks*; en F61.
- 438 li venin li commenca] li comenca li venins Fo4.

a⁴³⁹ corre⁴⁴⁰ parmi⁴⁴¹ le⁴⁴² bras⁴⁴³ si que il lui⁴⁴⁴ enfla.⁴⁴⁵ Quant l'emperieus senti⁴⁴⁶ qu'il⁴⁴⁷ estoit⁴⁴⁸ ainsi⁴⁴⁹ bleciez⁴⁵⁰ du bois se⁴⁵¹ parti⁴⁵² isnelment⁴⁵³ et vint⁴⁵⁴ en ses tentes. Lors envoa querre⁴⁵⁵ les mires⁴⁵⁶ dont il avoit⁴⁵⁷ assez.⁴⁵⁸ [Dans⁴⁵⁹ Hues de Pierrefons et⁴⁶⁰ Dans Gautier et tant des autres que je ne vous sauroie nommer.⁴⁶¹ Que chascunz i venoit volantierz por si haut homme⁴⁶² comme li emperieres iert.⁴⁶³ Il en i

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- 439 commenca a] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; a] a de F61.
 440 corre] couler F48.
 441 parmi] au long F36; toute contreval F58.
 442 corre parmi le] monter ou F65.
 443 bras] bras telement F42; bras contremont F57 F73.
 444 lui] F47 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
 445 enfla] enfla touz F31 F35; si que il lui enfla] F36 *lacks*; enfla] enfla tout F42; Il se fu afustez...enfla] chasser pour prendre bestes sauvages tenant en sa main ung arc et des saiettes. Les veneurs trouverent ung buisson ou il avoit plusieurs bestes que ilz furent assez droit au lieu ou il estoit. Si tost que il les appercut il enteza en son arc une saiette pour traire a ung senglier qui vers lui venoit et tellement que il la mist jusques au fer. Maiz au descocher ne navri en la main tressort et aussi tost lui enfla le braz et la main moult l'aidement F44; si que il lui enfla] et sense incontinent moult fort F65.
 446 senti] entendi F50 F57 F73 F77; se senti F30 F33 F34 F36 F43 F44 F51 F58 F64 F65 F70 F72; F74 *lacks*; quant l'empereor se senti] Voiant l'empereur F36.
 447 qu'il] se il F43.
 448 qu'il estoit] F30 F44 F45 F51 F58 *lack*.
 449 ainsi] issi F48; si F51.
 450 ainsi bleciez] F43 *lacks*.
 451 se] s'en F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; si se F42.
 452 du bois se parti] si ce parti dou bois F31 F35; parti] retorna F43 F45 F51; de parti F57.
 453 isnelement] instement F05; hastivement F42; tantost F58; du bois se parti isnelment] il part du bois F44; isnelment s'en parti dou bois F70 F72.
 454 du bois se parti isnelement et vint] il partir du bois et s'en ala F36.
 455 querre] il querres F42.
 456 mires] mieges F49 F71 F78.
 457 avoit] i avoit F01 F03 F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F57 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65.
 458 assez] en l'ost Entre les quelz y vint F44.
 459 Dans] F06 F44 *lack*.
 460 et] et ung nomme F44.
 461 que je ne vous sauroie nommer] F44 *lacks*.
 462 homme] prince F48.
 463 dont il i avoit...iert] et il i vindrent tantost F30 F34; F36 *lacks*; li emperieres iert] estoit l'empereur F44.

ot un qui li dist] L'achoisson⁴⁶⁴ de sa maladie⁴⁶⁵ leur dist.⁴⁶⁶ Cilz⁴⁶⁷ quistrent⁴⁶⁸ triaque et⁴⁶⁹ toutes les⁴⁷⁰ choses par quoi ilz⁴⁷¹ cuiderent restraindre⁴⁷² le venin.⁴⁷³ Assez⁴⁷⁴ en parlerent⁴⁷⁵ mes⁴⁷⁶ pou⁴⁷⁷ lui⁴⁷⁸ firent d'aide⁴⁷⁹ car parmi le bras⁴⁸⁰ estoit⁴⁸¹ ja li venins⁴⁸² espondus⁴⁸³ ou cors.⁴⁸⁴ Lors⁴⁸⁵ se⁴⁸⁶ commença plus⁴⁸⁷ sentir⁴⁸⁸ agrevé⁴⁸⁹ l'emperieres.⁴⁹⁰ Li⁴⁹¹ mire⁴⁹² pristrent conseil entre eus⁴⁹³ et virent bien⁴⁹⁴ que toute

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- 464 l'achoisson] et l'ochoison F31 F35; la cause F36.
 465 Il en i ot...de sa maladie] F44 *lacks*.
 466 leur dist] β *lack*.
 467 Cil] Les quelz F44; avoit asses. L'achoisson de sa maladie leur dist. Cilz] F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
 468 quistrent] pristrent F04 λ2 β.
 469 triaque et] F34 *lacks*.
 470 toutes les] autres F36 F44.
 471 par quoi ilz] F69 F74 *lack*; ilz] F39 *lacks*.
 472 restraindre] destraindre F31 F35.
 473 le venin] F31 *lacks*; restraindre le venin] le venin oster F06; le venin restraindre F49 F50 F69 F71; le venin retraire F74.
 474 Assez] et assez F31.
 475 par quoi ilz...parlerent] F36 *lacks*; pour oster le venin a leur pouvoir F44; en parlerent] et mistrent tout li trure poienne et toute menz F54; parlerent] trouverent F70 F72.
 476 mes] et F06.
 477 pou] ne F31; petit F49; riens F69 F71 F74 F78.
 478 lui] ne li F69 F71 F78.
 479 firent d'aide] aiderent F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 480 bras] bras li F61 F65; cors F69.
 481 estoit] s'estoit il F49.
 482 ...mi le bras estoit ja li venins] F31 *lacks*.
 483 li venins espondus] espondu li venin F34 F43.
 484 cors] il cors F05; espondus ou cors] ou cors estendus F31 F35; parmi le bras...cors] par le long du bras le venin lui estoit des ja entre ou cors F36.
 485 ou cors. Lors] aincois F42.
 486 se] F34 *lacks*.
 487 plus] F05 *lacks*.
 488 sentir] F78 *lacks*.
 489 et plus agrevé] lomaui F34; Lors se commença...agreuvé] Plus assoit avant plus entre goit la maladie F44; plus sentir agrevé] asentir plus greves F69 F71 F74; agrevé] fu grevez F61 F63; et grever F70 F72.
 490 li emperieres] F06 F65 *lack* sentir agrevé l'emperieres] a sentir l'empereres et a grever F31; mieges l'empereor F69 F71 F78; les mires l'empereour F74.
 491 Li] Mais li F31; Et en fin les F44.
 492 mire] mediciens F44; miege F49; maistre F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 493 entre eus] et assentirent F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; F06 F42 F43 F51 *lack*.
 494 bien] F74 *lacks*.

la force⁴⁹⁵ de⁴⁹⁶ l'entouschement movoit⁴⁹⁷ de la main⁴⁹⁸ ou⁴⁹⁹ li cop avoit esté.⁵⁰⁰ Si se acorderent⁵⁰¹ que, ancois⁵⁰² que les autres⁵⁰³ parties⁵⁰⁴ du corps fussent corrompues,⁵⁰⁵ l'en⁵⁰⁶ lui copast la main⁵⁰⁷ car autre⁵⁰⁸ maniere⁵⁰⁹ de⁵¹⁰ garison ni s'avoient ilz⁵¹¹ point.⁵¹² Quant l'emperierre oi ce,⁵¹³ qui⁵¹⁴ estoit hom⁵¹⁵ de grant⁵¹⁶ cuer,⁵¹⁷ bien dist.⁵¹⁸ 'Qu'il sentoit la force du⁵¹⁹ venin vers⁵²⁰ ses⁵²¹ entrailles et⁵²² grant

495 force] flesche F63.

496 la force de] Foi *lacks*.

497 movoit] li movoit do braz et Fo6; se senoit F42; venoit F57; le venoit F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; movoit bien F78.

498 la main] bras F71.

499 ou] dont Fo6 F32 F39 F40 F43 F48 F51 F54 F55.

500 ou li cop avoit esté] navrée F42.

501 se acorderent] s'acorderent a ce F48.

502 que, aincois] Fo6 *lacks*, pristrent conseil entre...aincois] bien congenurent que il estoit neccesité lui coupper la main avant F44.

503 les autres] une F43 F45; les une F51.

504 parties] moitie F48.

505 corrompues] corrompue du venin que F44.

506 corrompues l'en] entreprises com F31 F35; l'en] que l'en F42 43 F51 F57 F62 F69 F70 F71 F78.

507 main] poing F57 F73; ou li cop...main] F61 F65 *lack*.

508 autre] il autre Fo5; en autre Fo6 F39 F32 F33 F34 F36 F37 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; F74 *lacks*.

509 maniere] F34 F44 F77 *lack*.

510 de] de nulle F70 F72.

511 s'avoient ilz] veoient F43 F45 de garrison nis'avoient ilz] ni avoit garison point F60 F62 F63; ni avoit garison nulle F61 F65.

512 de garison ni s'avoient ilz point] n'achaoit point de garison Fo6; ni veoient il nulle garison F30 F32 F33 F34 F36 F44 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F64; nulle garison point F37; ni chacoient il nulle garison F39 F40 F47 F48; ne veoient ilz mie de garison F42; end of chapter F31 F35.

513 ce] les medecins ainsi parlez F44.

514 qui] qui moult F31 F35.

515 hom] Fo4 F30 F32 F33 F34 F37 F39 F40 F42 F43 F45 F47 F48 F51 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F74 *lack*.

516 grant] bon Fo6 F32 F33 F37 F39 F40 F45 F48 F54 F55 F60 F62.

517 cuer] cuer et de vaillant F58 F64; oi ce qui estoit home de grant cuer] qui molt et bon cuer oy ce F34; qui estoit de grant cuer oyt ce F42; oy ce qui estoit hom de grant cuer] qui de grant cuer estoit oy ce F70 F72.

518 bien dist] si dist bien F31 F35.

519 force du] F42 *lacks*.

520 vers] entre les F34; dedenz F51.

521 vers ses] par les F70 F72.

522 et] et que F44; F69 F74 F78 *lack*.

angoisse⁵²³ souffroit. Mes⁵²⁴ pour garir⁵²⁵ ne se⁵²⁶ lairoit il ja⁵²⁷ copper la main.⁵²⁸ [Ce disoit⁵²⁹ il bien⁵³⁰ et⁵³¹ certainement:⁵³² le⁵³³ savoit il⁵³⁴ que⁵³⁵ ja ne li avendroit que il poist⁵³⁶ que ja⁵³⁷ la⁵³⁸ main li fust⁵³⁹ coupée.⁵⁴⁰] Car⁵⁴¹ grant honte seroit⁵⁴² que⁵⁴³ li empires⁵⁴⁴ de Costantinoble⁵⁴⁵ fust⁵⁴⁶ gouvernez a⁵⁴⁷ une⁵⁴⁸ main'. [Meismement⁵⁴⁹ ne⁵⁵⁰ seroit pas droit ne⁵⁵¹ raison⁵⁵² a lui et⁵⁵³ au peuple que il avoit⁵⁵⁴ a gouverner

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- 523 angoisse] dolor F34; poine en F70.
 524 Mes] et F32 F33 F37 F40 F45 F47 F48 F51 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65; F39 F43 *lack*.
 525 Mes pour garir] por garir mes il Fo6; garir] garantir me la main F43; morir F54.
 526 se] F70 F72 F74 *lack*.
 527 il ja] pas Fo6 F61 F63; ja] F32 F37 F39 F40 F45 F47 F48 F54 *lack*; mie F42; pas F60; point F65
 lairoit il ja] laisseroit il pas F49; laissa pas F69 F71 F74 F78.
 528 la main] F43 *lacks*.
 529 disoit] disoit il bien F33.
 530 bien] Fo6 F30 F58 F64 *lack*.
 531 il bien et] F64 *lacks*.
 532 et certainement] F34 *lacks*.
 533 le] Fo6 *lacks*.
 534 certainement le savoit il] F42 *lacks*; il] F54 *lacks*.
 535 le savoit il que] F34 *lacks*; que] F37 F39 F40 *lack*.
 536 que il poist] F45 *lacks*.
 537 que il poist ja] F33 *lacks*.
 538 la] sa F33.
 539 li fust] n'avroit F32 F37 F47 F48 F55 F58; eust F51.
 540 certainement le savoit...coupée] bien F30; poist que ja la main li fust coupée] penst trouver
 en son cuer de soffrir que l'em li copast la mein F40; que ja la main li fust coupée] que il
 eust la main coupée F54.
 541 avendroit que il...fust coupée. Car] avroit mestier en seur que Fo6; pour garir ne...Car]
 non pour tant la maiz ne voudroit consentir avoir la main coupée pour doubte de mort
 ne autrement et que F44.
 542 grant honte seroit] il seroit grant honte F57 F73.
 543 que] se F49 F70.
 544 empires] empereres Fo2 Fo6 F31 F32 F33 F35 F39 F42 F44 F47 F48 F50 F57 F61 F72 F73 F74
 F77; empires F62 (*corrected from* empereres).
 545 de Constantinoble] F58 F64 *lack*.
 546 fust] seroit F31; estoit F49.
 547 a] par F43 F51.
 548 une] une seule F44.
 549 Meismement] ne F30 F43; F51 *lacks*.
 550 ne] que il ne F32 F37 F47 F60 F62; qui ne Fo6 F40 F45; ne il ne F51.
 551 pas droit ne] par F43; droit ne] F51 *lacks*; ne] F61 *lacks*.
 552 ne raison] F30 F55 F58 F64 *lack*; droit ne raison] raison ne droit F44.
 553 et] ne Fo6 F32 F40 F42 F44 F45 F47 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
 554 a lui et au peuple que il avoit] car qui la F30; avoit] F47 F48 F51 F54 *lack*.

car⁵⁵⁵ trop⁵⁵⁶ a affaire.⁵⁵⁷] Quant⁵⁵⁸ cele⁵⁵⁹ novele fu einssint⁵⁶⁰ espandue par⁵⁶¹ l'ost, que leur sires⁵⁶² [estoit⁵⁶³ einssint⁵⁶⁴ plaiez⁵⁶⁵ en la main⁵⁶⁶ et⁵⁶⁷ que il estoit einssint⁵⁶⁸ bleschiez et⁵⁶⁹ entouchiez⁵⁷⁰ del venim,⁵⁷¹ que il⁵⁷²] se⁵⁷³ mouroit⁵⁷⁴ ainsi,⁵⁷⁵ lors⁵⁷⁶ firent⁵⁷⁷ trop⁵⁷⁸ grant duel⁵⁷⁹ grant⁵⁸⁰ et petit⁵⁸¹ [et⁵⁸² riches et pauvres].⁵⁸³ Mainte⁵⁸⁴ priere firent a Nostre Seigneur que santé lui envoiait⁵⁸⁵ se il les en⁵⁸⁶ vousist⁵⁸⁷ oïr.⁵⁸⁸

555 car] Fo6 F30 F33 *lack*.

556 trop] trop y F42.

557 meismement ne seroit pas droit...affaire] F34 *lacks*; Lors se commenca plus...affaire] F36 *lacks*; que il avoit...affaire] F44 *lacks*.

558 Quant] et quant Fo5.

559 Quant cele] Si tost que la F44.

560 einssint] F36 F37 F40 F44 F61 F63 F65 *lack*.

561 par] en F36.

562 sires] l'empereur F36 F44; seigneur F42 F65 F70 F72.

563 estoit] se moroit F32 F37; avoit esté F51.

564 einssint] si F30; F33 F43 F45 F63 *lack*; si malement F34; issi F48; en telle maniere F51 F64.

565 plaiez] appareilliez F62.

566 en la main] Fo6 *lacks*.

567 et] F34 *lacks*.

568 einssint] F39 F41 F43 F47 F48 F51 F60 *lack*; si Fo6 F32 F61 F63 F65.

569 einssint bleschiez et] si F30 F34; einssint plaiez en...et] F42 *lacks*.

570 entouchiez] si entouche F42.

571 plaiez en la main...entouchiez del venim] navre grriefment F44.

572 il] F39 *lacks*.

573 se] F78 *lacks*.

574 estoit einssint plaiez...mouroit] estoit blece F36; mouroit] moroit einsy F47; moroit molt F54.

575 ainsi] illuec einsy F31.

576 lors] si F31 F35; tous en F36; Moult en F44; en F54.

577 lors firent] si en orent F30.

578 trop] Fo3 Fo6 F30 F31 F32 F33 F34 F35 F36 F39 F40 F42 F43 F44 F45 F47 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64 F65 F70 F72 *lack*.

579 duel] duel et F78.

580 grant] et grant F40.

581 grant et petit] petite et grant Fo6 F31 F34 F35 λ1.

582 duel grand et petite et] F30 *lacks*.

583 grant et petite et riches et pauvres] riches et pauvres et petite et grand F58 F64; riches et pauvres] li poure et li rice F30 F42; F44 F65 *lack*; petit et grant et poure et riche F48.

584 Mainte] et maintes F42 F49 F65.

585 santé li envoiait] li amvoiait santé F45; envoiait] vosist F52.

586 en] Fo6 F57 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.

587 vousist] vouloir F58.

588 oïr] oy ne escouter F42; oïr de leur preres F69 F71 F74 F78.

Book 20 Chapter 11

Based Upon F02 and F38

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
F01 MS mutilated	F50 306r-v	F49 267v-268r	F06 222v-223r	F47 MS mutilated
F02 146r	F57 263r-v	F69 238r-v	F30 192v-193r	F48 181v
F03 162v	F70 221v	F71 B2or	F32 172r-v	F51 177v-178r
F04 110r	F72 243r-v	F74 311v-312r	F33 199v-200r	F53 238v-239r
F05 267v268r	F73 209v	F78 277r-v	F34 180r-v	F54 278r-v
F31 241v	F77 231v-232r		F36 188v-189r	F55 196r-v
F35 183v			F37 345r-v	F58 216v217r
F38 146r			F39 475-476	F60 214r
F41 MS mutilated			F40 149v	F61 193v
F52 201v-202r			F42 324v-325r	F62 B66v-67r
			F43 206v-207r	F63 216r
			F44 259r-v	F64 254v-246r
			F45 189r-v	F65 345v-346r
			F46 110r-v	

Puis⁵⁸⁹ que li Rois⁵⁹⁰ fu retornez⁵⁹¹ en son reame⁵⁹² au commencement de⁵⁹³ cel an,⁵⁹⁴
n'avint guerres⁵⁹⁵ chose⁵⁹⁶ en la terre⁵⁹⁷ qui face a raconter,⁵⁹⁸ se ce⁵⁹⁹ non que lors⁶⁰⁰

589 Puis] Apres F44.
590 Rois] rois amaurris F30 F37.
591 retornez] retornes en son pays et F49 F69 F71 F78.
592 reame] royaume de Jherusalem F44.
593 commencement de] en F36; de] F77 *lacks*.
594 de cel an] F50 *lacks*.
595 de cel an n'avint guerres] n'avint gueres en cel an F74.
596 chose] de chose F33 F36.
597 en la terre] F02 F49 F50 F53 F69 F71 F77 F78 *lack*.
598 raconter] mentenoir en conte F74.
599 ce] tant F36.
600 au commencement de...non que lors] F44 *lacks*.

fu mors⁶⁰¹ Reniers⁶⁰² l'evesques⁶⁰³ de Lidde⁶⁰⁴ et⁶⁰⁵ en son lieu fu esleuz et⁶⁰⁶ sacrez⁶⁰⁷ Bernarz l'abbé⁶⁰⁸ de Monte Tabor.⁶⁰⁹ Apres⁶¹⁰ quant⁶¹¹ li⁶¹² novieau tens fu venus, ce fu au⁶¹³ commencement du⁶¹⁴ sixte⁶¹⁵ an du reaume⁶¹⁶ le⁶¹⁷ roy Amauri,⁶¹⁸ li baron⁶¹⁹ de la terre⁶²⁰ de Surie,⁶²¹ cils⁶²² qui⁶²³ plus sage⁶²⁴ estoient,⁶²⁵ se⁶²⁶ penserent⁶²⁷ que mout⁶²⁸ estoit en grant peril⁶²⁹ toute⁶³⁰ la crestiente de la⁶³¹

601 mors] tres passa F36.

602 Reniers] F58 F65 *lack*; Ieuses F60 F61 F62 F63.

603 Reniers l'evesque] l'evesque Regnier F37.

604 Lidde] sode F33; fu mors Reniers l'evesques de Lidde] Reginez evesque de Lidde trespassa F44.

605 et] F03 F46 F49 F54 F55 F58 F69 F71 F78 λ1 *lack*.

606 esleuz et] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; mis F44 F53 F55 F58 F64.

607 esleuz et sacrez] F36 *lacks*.

608 Bernarz l'abbé] B l'evesque F34; l'abbé] F37 F42 *lack*.

609 Tabor] de Tabor F36; fu esleuz et...Tabor] Bernarz l'abé de monte tabor et sacrez a evesque F49 F69 F71 F78; en fist ou un autre F50 F57; fu esleus bernart l'abé de monte tabor et sacrez a evesque F70 F72; F73 F77 *lack*; apres lui fu mis un autres de cui je ne sai pas le nom F74; lieu fu esleuz...Monte Ta...] F60 F61 F62 F63 *lack* (en son |bor); en son lieu...Tabor] F65 *lacks*.

610 Apres] F74 *lacks*.

611 quant] F03 *lacks*; au F31 F35.

612 quant li] que il F49 F67 F68 F69 F71.

613 au] le F36; F32 F37 *lack*; ce fu au] F44 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.

614 commencement du] F04 F69 F71 F70 F72 β *lack*.

615 sixte] seizen F34.

616 du reaume] F06 *lacks*.

617 le] dou F57 F73.

618 quant li nouveau temps fu venus ce fu au commencement du sixte an du reaume le roi Amauri] au novel tant F31 F35.

619 baron] gent F34.

620 de la terre] F37 F44 *lack*; le roi Amauri; li baron de la terre] F74 *lacks*.

621 de Surie] β *lack*.

622 cils] et hautes homes aumomsees F37.

623 fu venus ce...qui] F03 *lacks*; qui] qui les F65.

624 sage] loial gent F34.

625 cils qui plus sage estoient] F31 F35 *lack*; sage estoient] estoient sage F57.

626 se] F53 *lacks*.

627 penserent] por penserent F49 F69 F71 F78; représenterent F60.

628 cils qui plus...mout] adjuserent que ilz F36; pensans et bien cognoissans que leur terre F44.

629 peril] par F30.

630 toute] F31 F35 *lack*.

631 la] celle F46.

terre,⁶³² parce que cils puissant home⁶³³ Noradins, qui assez⁶³⁴ mauls⁶³⁵ leur avoit fait⁶³⁶ par maintes fois,⁶³⁷ avoit⁶³⁸ ores a⁶³⁹ sa volenté⁶⁴⁰ le⁶⁴¹ reaume d'Egypte,⁶⁴² si⁶⁴³ que il pooit⁶⁴⁴ venir sur les nostre⁶⁴⁵ par⁶⁴⁶ mer⁶⁴⁷ et⁶⁴⁸ par terre⁶⁴⁹ et⁶⁵⁰ destraindre⁶⁵¹ toute⁶⁵² la terre⁶⁵³ en maintes⁶⁵⁴ manieres,⁶⁵⁵ et faire tant que par mer⁶⁵⁶ ne porroit l'en⁶⁵⁷ venir seurement⁶⁵⁸ en⁶⁵⁹ Jherusalem,⁶⁶⁰ qui estoit encore li⁶⁶¹

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- 632 de la crestiente de la terre] F36 *lacks*; de la terre] F50 F65 *lack*.
 633 cils puissant home] F03 F31 F35 F44 *lack*.
 634 assez] tant F37; moult F42.
 635 assez mauls] maus outages F44; mauls] F70 F72 *lack*.
 636 mauls leur avoit fait] leur avoit fait maus F04 F06 F30 F32 F33 F34 F39 F40 F45 F46 F48 F51 F54 F58 F60 F61 F62 F63; leur avoit fait de mal et de dommage F37; leur avoit mal fait F55; fait] done F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78.
 637 qui asses mauls leur avoit fait par maintes fois] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; par maintes fois] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.
 638 avoit] affaire avoit F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78.
 639 a] F77 *lacks*.
 640 que cils puissant...volenté] que ilz voieoient que salhadin qui estoit vaillant et puissant et des ja leur avoit fait moult de mauux avoit saisi F36; volenté] volenté et tenoit F77.
 641 a sa volent le] la seigneurie du F44.
 642 ores a sa volenté le reaume d'Egypte] aoren droit le roiaume d'egypte a sa volente F74.
 643 si] tellement F37 F42.
 644 si que il pooit] por F03 F31 F35.
 645 les nostre] aus F35; nos gens F36 F37 F42; sur les nostre] F65 *lacks*.
 646 par] et par F49 F67 F68 F69 F78.
 647 mer] mer par mer F36; sur les nostre par mer] par mer seur les nos F63.
 648 et] comme F37.
 649 si que il...terre] et povoit sur eulz venir par mer et par terre quant bon lui sembloit F44; et par terre] F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*; mer et par terre] terre et par mer F77.
 650 et] et por aus F03; aus miese F31; por aus miels et F35.
 651 destraindre] constrandre F37 F42.
 652 toute] F06 *lacks*.
 653 et destraindre toute la terre] F30 *lacks*; los F43.
 654 maintes] F42 *lacks*.
 655 toute la terre en maintes manieres] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 656 par mer] pelerins F49 F67 F68 F69 F78; sur les nostre par mer] par mer sus le nos F60 F62 F63.
 657 l'en] F37 F46 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
 658 seurement] λ1 λ2 F03 F31 F35 F43 F53 F64 F78 *lack*; venir seurement] seurement venir F46.
 659 en] en la cité de F37.
 660 seurement en Jherusalem] en Jerusalem seurement F34 F60 F61 F62 F63.
 661 li] li plus F65.

graindres⁶⁶² perils pour la grant plainté des galées⁶⁶³ et des⁶⁶⁴ nés⁶⁶⁵ que cil avoit sur mer.⁶⁶⁶ Pour ce deviserent⁶⁶⁷ li preudome, que bien⁶⁶⁸ seroit⁶⁶⁹ metiers,⁶⁷⁰ que l'en⁶⁷¹ envoiait⁶⁷² és⁶⁷³ terres⁶⁷⁴ devers⁶⁷⁵ Occident des⁶⁷⁶ meilleurs⁶⁷⁷ prelas⁶⁷⁸ du païs⁶⁷⁹ qui⁶⁸⁰ bien⁶⁸¹ seussent moustrer⁶⁸² aux⁶⁸³ princes bons⁶⁸⁴ crestiens⁶⁸⁵ le mesaise et⁶⁸⁶ le peril⁶⁸⁷ de la Sainte⁶⁸⁸ terre⁶⁸⁹ et leur requissent de par Nostre Seigneur⁶⁹⁰ que⁶⁹¹

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- 662 graindres] plus grant F70 F72; encore li graindres] ore li plus grans F49 F69 F71 F78.
 663 galées] F60 *lacks*.
 664 des] autres F37 F42.
 665 galées et des nés] nés et de galies F30 F34 F49 F50 F57 F69 F70 F71 F72 F74 F77 F78.
 666 pour la grant...mer] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; et destraindre tout...mer] F36 *lacks*; Et aussi que nulz pelerins ne povoient plus venir en Jherusalem sans le gangier des Egitiens qui estoit le greigneur dommage qui peust advenir aux crestiens F44; mer] F58 *lacks*.
 667 deviserent] dissent F30; dirent F36.
 668 bien] F36 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65 *lack*.
 669 bien seroit] F03 *lacks*.
 670 bien seroit metiers] mestiers seroit F35 F53.
 671 metiers; que l'en] expedient de F36; l'en] F55 *lacks*.
 672 que l'en envoiait] F06 *lacks*; envoiait] devisast et enveiait F72.
 673 és] en la F30.
 674 és terres] F03 F35 *lack*; terres] parties F36.
 675 devers] par devers F30; de F37; devers] F53 *lacks*.
 676 des] aucuns des F37.
 677 pour ce deviserent...meilleurs] Pouvre distrent les barons que bien envoyer en la terre d'occident des plus hault F44.
 678 prelas] chevaliers F53 F55 F58 F64.
 679 païs] terre F36; royaumes F37; surie F44; du païs] F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
 680 des meilleurs prelas du païs qui] F30 *lacks*.
 681 bien] F36 *lacks*; maius F49 F69 F71 F72 F78.
 682 moustrer] de moustrer F36; mostrer et conter F49 F69 F71 F78; seussent moustrer] demonstrassent F65.
 683 aux] as barons et as F49 F69 F71 F78.
 684 bons] de la F34; F60 *lacks*.
 685 bons crestiens] F03 F36 F49 F65 F69 F71 F78 *lack*; metiers que l'en...crestiens] mostrer as bons partes F31; princes bons crestiens] bons princes F35; bons princes crestiens F37; qui bons crestiens estoient F74.
 686 le mesaise et] F34 F36 *lack*.
 687 et li peril] F70 F72 *lack*; peril] grant perill F49 F67 F68 F69 F71 F78.
 688 Sainte] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 689 Sainte terre] terre sainte F36 F38; sainte terre d'oulremer F53 F58.
 690 de par Nostre Seigneur] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 691 que] qui F48.

secorre le venissent⁶⁹² en⁶⁹³ son⁶⁹⁴ heritage.⁶⁹⁵ Car⁶⁹⁶ par leurs gens⁶⁹⁷ avoit esté⁶⁹⁸ maintes fois⁶⁹⁹ li⁷⁰⁰ reaumes de Surie⁷⁰¹ aidez⁷⁰² et maintenuz.⁷⁰³ A ce messaige⁷⁰⁴ faire⁷⁰⁵ furent esleu⁷⁰⁶ li patriarches de Jherusalem, Amaurris,⁷⁰⁷ li arcevesque de Cesaire,⁷⁰⁸ Herneis,⁷⁰⁹ et⁷¹⁰ Guillaume⁷¹¹ l'evesque d'Acre.⁷¹² L'en⁷¹³ leur encharja⁷¹⁴

692 le venissent] F34 *lacks*; le voulissent F37; voulussissent secourir F42; secourre le venissent] il li venissent secourre F49 F50 F57 F69 F71 F77 F78; les venissent secore F63 F70 F72.

693 en] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*.

694 son] leur F43 F45 F51.

695 en son heritage] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; heritage] corage F32.

696 Car] que par F45.

697 gens] les vaillans predecesseurs F37 F42; encesseurs F54; leurs gens] F60 F61 F63 *lack*.

698 avoit esté] avoient F37 F42.

699 fois] fois secoreus F34.

700 maintes fois li] li maintes fois F02; maintes fois] F48 *lacks*; li] F57 *lacks*.

701 de Surie] F06 F51 *lack*; avoit esté maintes...Surie] maintes fois avoit esté li roiaumes de surie F32 F60 F62; car par leurs...Surie] maintes fois avoit esté li reaume de surie par lor genz F49 F69 F71 F78; maintes fois li royaumes de Surie] li reaumes de surie meintes foiz F54.

702 aidez] F34 *lacks*; secoreuz et aidiez F51.

703 avoit esté maintes...maintenuz] avoit maintes foiz este li roiaumes de Surie aidez F03; avoit esté li roiaumes de Surie maintes foiz aidez F31 F35; que secourre le...maintenuz] leur aide F36; maintenuz] secourra F37 F42 F53 F54 F55 F58; soustenus F57; maintes fois avoit esté li roaumes de surie aidies et maintenus F61 F63; de Surie aidez et maintenuz] F43 *lacks*; qui bien seussent...maintenuz] pour remonstrer la neccessité du païs et le peril ou estoit la sainte terre. Es panssement F44.

704 massaige] F36 *lacks*.

705 faire] F46 *lacks*.

706 A ce messaige faire furent esleu] Esleu furent F03; Eslieu furent por ceste besoinge affaire F31 F35 (split chapter); esleu] ordonnez F44.

707 patriarches de Jherusalem, Amaurris] patriarches amaurris de Jherusalem F30 F44; Amauri patriarche de Jerusalem F32 F36 F70 F72; Amaurris] F65 *lacks*.

708 Cesaire] Sur F50.

709 Herneis] Arnoulz F02; hemens F43; F65 *lacks*; li arcevesque de Cesaire Herneis] Erneis li arcevesques de Cesaire F32; Ernoul archevesque de Cesaire F36; Hermen archevesque de Cesaire F44; li evesque de Sayete Henri F49 F67 F68 F69 F71 F78; et Hernaus l'arcevesque de Cesaire F70 F74.

710 et] F40 F43 F74 *lack*.

711 Guillaume] F65 *lacks*.

712 Herneis et Guillaume l'evesque d'Acre] F50 *lacks*; d'Acre] de la cité F51.

713 L'en] F35 F53 *lack*.

714 encharja] moustra F30.

nommement⁷¹⁵ que il⁷¹⁶ s'en⁷¹⁷ alaissent pour moustrer ceste⁷¹⁸ chose⁷¹⁹ a l'empereur Ferri⁷²⁰ d'Alemaigne,⁷²¹ au⁷²² roi Looy⁷²³ de France,⁷²⁴ au⁷²⁵ roi Henri⁷²⁶ d'Engleterre, au⁷²⁷ roi Guillaume⁷²⁸ de Sezille. Et leur dist⁷²⁹ l'en⁷³⁰ que il⁷³¹ parlissent⁷³² de ce meismes⁷³³ aux meneurs⁷³⁴ barons.⁷³⁵ au conte Phelippe⁷³⁶ de Flandres,⁷³⁷ au⁷³⁸ conte⁷³⁹ Henri⁷⁴⁰ de Champaigne, au⁷⁴¹ conte Tiebaut⁷⁴² de Blois, et aux⁷⁴³ autres⁷⁴⁴

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- 715 nommement] F03 F31 F35 F57 *lack*; encharja nommement] commanda expressement F37; encharga expressement F42.
- 716 il] F02 F05 F32 F33 F40 *lack*.
- 717 s'en F49 F69 F71 F74 F78 *lack*.
- 718 ceste] la F74.
- 719 moustrer ceste chose] ceste chose mostrer F31; pour moustrer ceste chose] premierement λ2; F34 *lacks*; chose] besongne F37 F42.
- 720 Ferri] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
- 721 ceste chose a l'empereur Ferri d'Alemaigne] a l'empereor Ferri d'Alemaigne ceste chose F32 F33 F61 F63; a l'empereur ceste besoingne F65.
- 722 au] et au F35 F51 F74.
- 723 Looy] Ferris F02; F03 F31 F35 F65 *lack*.
- 724 de France] F40 *lacks*.
- 725 au] et au F30 F34 F35 F74.
- 726 Henri] F03 F31 F35 F65 *lack*.
- 727 au] et au F34 F35 F37 F74; et aussi F65.
- 728 Guillaume] F65 *lacks*.
- 729 dist] charga F37 F42.
- 730 l'en] F03 F31 F35 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
- 731 il] F02 F04 F50 *lack*; leur dist l'en que il] F44 *lacks*.
- 732 parlissent de] moustraissent F60 F61 F62 F63.
- 733 meismes] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; besongne F37; et leur dist...meismes] que ilz remonstrasse pareillement toutes ces chose F65.
- 734 meneurs] greignor F30; F37 F42 F53 *lack*; meillors F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78.
- 735 et leur dist...barons] aux barons de France F36; barons] barons de c'est assavoir F37 F42; barons ce et a savoir F74; aux meneurs barons] F44 *lacks*; meneurs barons] autres princes et barons comme F65.
- 736 Philippe] qui avoit non Phelippes F74; F78 *lacks*.
- 737 Flandres] France F36.
- 738 au] et au F49 F69 F71 F74 F78.
- 739 au conte] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.
- 740 Henri] F65 *lacks*.
- 741 au] et au F34 F44 F49 F69 F71 F78.
- 742 Tiebaut] F31 F35 F65 *lack*; F49 F69 F71 F78.
- 743 aux] a toz F49 F69 F71 F78.
- 744 autres] F57 *lacks*; autres barons F69 F70 F71 F72 F78; princes F36; maintes autres qui point ne sont icy nomines F37 F42.

de ces terres.⁷⁴⁵ Cils⁷⁴⁶ atorerent leur voie⁷⁴⁷ et⁷⁴⁸ monterent sur⁷⁴⁹ mer et⁷⁵⁰ se partirent du port.⁷⁵¹ Mes la seconde⁷⁵² nuit⁷⁵³ sordi une tempeste trop⁷⁵⁴ grant⁷⁵⁵ si,⁷⁵⁶ que leur mas pecoia⁷⁵⁷ les⁷⁵⁸ gouvernails froisserent⁷⁵⁹ les nés meismes⁷⁶⁰ fendi,⁷⁶¹ si que⁷⁶² par⁷⁶³ grant⁷⁶⁴ peril s'en⁷⁶⁵ eschaperent⁷⁶⁶ et⁷⁶⁷ revindrent⁷⁶⁸ au tiers jour⁷⁶⁹ au port.⁷⁷⁰ En⁷⁷¹

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- 745 de ces terres] F03 F31 F35 F36 F37 F42 F54 F55 *lack*.
 746 Cils] Les trois prelatz F36.
 747 atorerent leur voie] vinrent F03 F31 F35; F36 *lacks*; Cils atorerent leur voie] ces prelatz devant nominez ordonnerent leur partement F37 F42; voie] affaire F44 F49 F69 F71 F78; oirre F50 F57 F72 F77; meute F74.
 748 et] et s'en F30; puis F44.
 749 monterent sur] entrerent en F30 F36 F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; mistrent en F34 F58; monterent en F44.
 750 et] et puis F34; puis F74.
 751 et se partirent du port] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; pour faire leur voyage F44; port] port d'acre F49 F69 F71 F78.
 752 seconde] premiere F44.
 753 nuit] nuit apres F37 F42; nuit de leur partement F44; jor F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78.
 754 trop] mout F74.
 755 trop grant] F36 *lacks*; tempeste trop grant] trop grant tempeste F60 F61 F65; grant tempeste F62.
 756 si] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; tellement F37 F42; sourdi une tempeste trop grant si] si grant tempeste dourdi trop en la mer que F44; trop grant si] si grant F49 F53 F55 F58 F64 F67 F68 F69 F71 F78.
 757 pecoia] se rompi F36; rompirent F37 F42; leur mas pecoia] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*.
 758 les] et li F49 F69 F70 F71 F78.
 759 mas pecoia les gouvernails froisserent] mars et gouvernail pecoierent F03 F31; et brisa lur gouvernaus F34; mas et leur gouvernaus pechoierent F35; froisserent] fu defroissie F36; casserent F37 F42; pecoijerent F46.
 760 meismes] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; se meisme F36.
 761 fendi] ouvert F70.
 762 que] F33 F40 *lack*.
 763 par] F02 *lacks*; par mains F34; en F36.
 764 si que par grant] Et F37; si F42.
 765 s'en] F03 *lacks*.
 766 pecoia les gouvernails...eschaperent] du vaisses tout froisse si que apartie que ilz ne furent navez et ainsi que dieu le vult furent sauvez F44.
 767 s'en eschaperent et] F36 *lacks*.
 768 et revindrent] F57 *lacks*.
 769 revindrent au tiers jour] au tiers jour retournerent F44; par grant peril...jour] au tiers jor par grant perill eschaperent et vindrent F49 F69 F71 F78; et revindrent au tiers jor] si que au tiers jour s'en vindrent F61; li au tiers jour soudirent F63; si que au tier jour arriverent F65; au tierz jor et revindrent F77.
 770 port] port en la vile F49 F69 F71 F78.
 771 En] et puis en F30; En tel maniere que F49 F69 F71 F78.

nulle guisse⁷⁷² ne peussent puis⁷⁷³ estre mis⁷⁷⁴ a ce⁷⁷⁵ qu'ilz alaissent⁷⁷⁶ la⁷⁷⁷ si que il⁷⁷⁸ covint a⁷⁷⁹ eslire⁷⁸⁰ autre gent.⁷⁸¹ Par la grant⁷⁸² priere⁷⁸³ le⁷⁸⁴ roi et⁷⁸⁵ des autres⁷⁸⁶ barons,⁷⁸⁷ emprist⁷⁸⁸ a faire⁷⁸⁹ ce message⁷⁹⁰ l'arcevesques⁷⁹¹ Ferris⁷⁹² de Sur⁷⁹³ et⁷⁹⁴ mena avecques lui⁷⁹⁵ Jehan⁷⁹⁶ l'evesque⁷⁹⁷ de Belinas, qui estoit uns de ses⁷⁹⁸ evesques.⁷⁹⁹ Cils orent meilleur vent⁸⁰⁰ et⁸⁰¹ passerent la mer sans

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- 772 guisse] eglise F32 F37 F39 F51; ne guise F65.
 773 puis] F34 F49 F53 F58 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
 774 mis] F61 F63 *lack*.
 775 puis estre mis a ce] a ce estre mis F30; estre mis a ce faire puis F72; ce] voyage tellement F37 F42; ce mene puis F49 F69 F71 F78; ce faire F70; puis] F58 *lacks*.
 776 estre mis a ce qu'ilz alaissent] aller F03 F31 F35.
 777 la] F31 *lacks*; puis en ce message F48.
 778 que il] F48 F53 *lack*; ne peussent puis...il] ne volrent point aller ne la mais remonter sur mer mais F65; si que il] ainz F70.
 779 a] F03 F31 F33 F36 F38 F40 F42 F43 F45 F46 F48 F51 F53 F54 F55 F58 F60 F61 F63 *lack*; puis a F49 F67 F68 F69 F71 F78; puis F57 F72 F77.
 780 mis a ce qu'il alaissent la si que il covint a eslire] F52 *lacks*.
 781 autre gent] des autres F36.
 782 grant] F03 F31 F32 F35 F49 F69 F71 F78 *lack*.
 783 En nulle guisse...priere] Dont ilz estoient patiz. En nulle maniere depuis ne voudrent faire le voiage. Et en lieu deulz a la requeste F44.
 784 le] dou F57.
 785 le roi et] F03 F31 F34 F35 *lack*.
 786 des autres] ses F30; autres] F53 F54 F55 *lack*.
 787 et des autres barons] F44 *lacks*; des autre barons] F65 *lacks*.
 788 Par la grant...autres barons emprist] F36 *lacks*; emprist] entre prindrent F37; entreprint F42; emprirent autres F65.
 789 a faire] F30 *lacks*; emprist a faire] fist F03 F31 F35.
 790 faire ce message] ce faire furent esleuz F36; message] voyage F37 F42; emprist a faire ce message] y allerent F44; a faire ce massage] ce message a faire F53 F54 F55 F58.
 791 l'arcevesques] L'evesque F53.
 792 l'archevesques Ferris] Feris l'arcevesque F36 F70; Thierry arcevesque F44; Ferris] F37 *lacks*.
 793 l'arcevesques Ferry de Sur] l'arcevesques de sur Ferris F03; Ferris l'arcevesques de Sur F31 F35.
 794 et] F40 *lacks*; qui F53.
 795 mena avecques lui] F36 *lacks*; avec lui mena F60 F62.
 796 Jehan] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.
 797 l'evesque] l'arcevesque F03; l'evesque de Bethleem et l'evesque F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78; Jehan l'evesque] l'evesque Jehan F58 F60 F62.
 798 de ses] F60 F62 *lack*.
 799 uns de ses evesques] soz lui F03 F31 F35; sage home F49 F69 F70 F72 F78; sages F71; qui estoit uns de ses evesques] F34 F36 *lack*; qui pu de chose firent F44; evesques] evesques de belinas qui estoit F40; l'arcevesques Ferris de Sur...evesques] F65 *lacks*.
 800 vent] vent que li autre F37 F42 F49 F70 F71 F72 F78.
 801 meilleur vent et] F03 F31 F35 *lack*.

encombrier.⁸⁰² Mes ne firent mie grant⁸⁰³ preu⁸⁰⁴ a cele besoigne.⁸⁰⁵ Car⁸⁰⁶ puis⁸⁰⁷ que il⁸⁰⁸ furent venu en France, ne demora guerres⁸⁰⁹ que⁸¹⁰ l'evesque Jehans⁸¹¹ de Belinas⁸¹² morut⁸¹³ a Paris⁸¹⁴ et fu enterrez⁸¹⁵ en⁸¹⁶ l'eglise⁸¹⁷ Saint⁸¹⁸ Victor, a⁸¹⁹ senestre⁸²⁰ si come l'en entre⁸²¹ vers le⁸²² cuer.⁸²³ Deus anz apres⁸²⁴ l'arcevesques s'en retorna⁸²⁵ en Surie et ne apporta⁸²⁶ ne⁸²⁷ secors⁸²⁸ ne esperance.⁸²⁹

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- 802 Cils orent meilleur...encombrier] les que elz passerent la mer F36; encombrer] avoir quelque empeschement F37; quelque empeschement F42; destorbier F52; dangier F65.
- 803 grant] grant moult grant F02 F57; molt grant F70 F72 F74 F77.
- 804 preu] avancement F37 F42; demeure F54.
- 805 Cils orent meilleur...besoigne] F44 *lacks*; besoigne] chose F54.
- 806 Car] Et F78.
- 807 puis] pou apres F44.
- 808 firent mie grant...il] F36 *lacks*; il] F70 *lacks*.
- 809 guerres] mye graniment F37 F42.
- 810 ne demora guerres que] F36 F44 *lack*; que] mie F71.
- 811 Jehans] F03 F31 F35 F44 F49 F69 F70 F71 F72 F78 *lack*.
- 812 Jehans de Belinas] F61 F63 *lack*.
- 813 morut] trespassa F36 F44; Jehans de Belinas morut] jehan de belynas et huitace deans de charmentre morurent F45; ne demora guerres...morut] que ung evesque qui estoit en leur compaignie morut F65.
- 814 a Paris] F58 F61 F63 *lack*; Jehans de Belinas morut a Paris] F60 F62 *lack*.
- 815 enterrez] enfouis F57.
- 816 enterrez en] mist a F03 F31 F35.
- 817 l'eglise] F03 F31 F35 *lack*; l'eglise de F53 F64.
- 818 en l'eglise Saint] F63 *lacks*; Saint] monseignor saint F74.
- 819 a] en toste F44.
- 820 a senestre] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.
- 821 entre] entre ens F30.
- 822 vers le] en F60 F61 F62; li F63.
- 823 a senestre si...cuer] F50 F57 F73 F74 F77 *lack*; a Paris et fu...ver le cuer] F65 *lacks*.
- 824 Deus anz apres] apres dues anz F70.
- 825 retorna] entra F06; revint F31; Deus anz apres l'arcevesques s'en retorna] Les autres s'en revindrent F65.
- 826 apporta] aporta gueres preuz F48; ne apporta] n'en reporta F60 F62 F63.
- 827 ne] F31 F37 F46 F50 F54 F57 F73 *lack*.
- 828 ne secors] F64 *lacks* (*added above line in a different hand*).
- 829 ne secors ne esperance] rien touchant secours F36; ne admena aucun secours ne point ne dona esperance d'en avoir F44; esperance] esperance aucune F37; esperance que nus deust venir F49 F67 F68 F69 F71 F78; aie F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; esperance que arme deust venir F70 F72.

Book 22 Chapter 6

Based Upon Fo2 and F38

α	λ_1	λ_2	β	
Fo1 MS mutilated	F50 339r-v	F49 299r-v	Fo6 245v	F47 183v-184r
Fo2 162v-163r	F57 239r	F69 267r-v	F30 261v-217r	F48 203r-v
Fo3 179r-v	F70 250v-251r	F71 B44v	F32 193v-194r	F51 198r
Fo4 122v	F72 272r	F74 344v	F33 223r-v	F53 268v-269r
Fo5 299r	F73 232v-233r	F78 311r	F34 201v	F54 308v-309r
F31 268r	F77 256r-v		F36 188v189r	F55 221v
F35 203v-204r			F37 193v	F58 244r
F38 163r			F39 529-530	F60 238v
F41 MS mutilated			F40 168r-v	F61 212v-213r
F52 224r			F42 363r	F62 B90v
			F43 231v-232r	F63 239v
			F44 283v-284r	F64 274vF65 381r-v
			F45 213r	
			F46 140r-v	

Honteuse⁸³⁰ vie menoit⁸³¹ en ceste maniere⁸³² li princes⁸³³ Buimonz⁸³⁴ a ce tens,⁸³⁵ Et⁸³⁶ tant⁸³⁷ estoit ja⁸³⁸ la chose alée avant⁸³⁹ que li⁸⁴⁰ princes⁸⁴¹

830 Honteuse] Honteuse se F3; Toute sa λ_2 .

831 Honteuse vie menoit] Honteusement menoit sa vie F30 F53 F54 F55 F58 F64; Honteuse se menenoit F33; moult menoit le prince honteusement sa vie F44; F65 *lacks*.

832 en ceste maniere] F72 *lacks*; maniere] maniere se com tenoit F65.

833 li princes] F34 *lacks*.

834 Buimonz] d'Antioche Buymonz Fo6; Honteuse vie menoit...Buimonz] Le prince Bemont menoit mie honteuse vie F36; li princes Buimonz] Buimont le prince d'Antioche F53 F55 F58 F64; en ceste maniere li princes Buimonz] li princes bueimont en ceste maniere F62.

835 Buimonz a ce tens] F44 *lacks*.

836 et] F53 F58 *lack*.

837 tant] la F48.

838 ja] Fo2 Fo4 F48 F53 F54 F55 F57 F58 F70 F72 F73 *lack*.

839 avant] F34 *lacks*.

840 li] le dit F42.

841 estoit ja la chose avant que li princes] F44 *lacks*.

estoit⁸⁴² escommeniez⁸⁴³ et⁸⁴⁴ toute la⁸⁴⁵ terre entredite⁸⁴⁶ pour les sacrileges⁸⁴⁷ et⁸⁴⁸ pour⁸⁴⁹ les⁸⁵⁰ tors⁸⁵¹ que l'en fesoit aux clers et aux eglises. Par tout le pais ne fesoit l'en nul sacrement⁸⁵² fors⁸⁵³ seulement baptizier⁸⁵⁴ les⁸⁵⁵ enfans⁸⁵⁶ et confesser⁸⁵⁷ les malades.⁸⁵⁸ A⁸⁵⁹ la fin, virent⁸⁶⁰ li⁸⁶¹ preudome⁸⁶² du reaume⁸⁶³ de Surie⁸⁶⁴ que cilz⁸⁶⁵ aferes⁸⁶⁶ ne povoit pas⁸⁶⁷ longuement durer⁸⁶⁸ sans grant peril.⁸⁶⁹ Si⁸⁷⁰ envoierent la,⁸⁷¹ par commun accort,⁸⁷² le patriarche de

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- 842 estoit] ert F43; estoit ja F61F65.
 843 a ce tens...escommeniez] F36 *lacks*.
 844 et] car F36; et que F49 F69 F71 F74.
 845 la] sa F65.
 846 entredite] estoit interdite F36; estoit entredite F69 F71 F74 F78.
 847 sacrileges] sarquiles F30 F33 F39 F40 F47 F51 F54 F55 F60 F61 F62 F63 F64; grevemens F42; outrages F43 F45 F48 F53 F58.
 848 pour les sacrileges et] F44 *lacks*.
 849 les sacrileges et pour] F49 F50 F69 F71 F74 F77 *lack*.
 850 pour les] F42 *lacks*.
 851 tors] torz fez F58 F64.
 852 ...ses. Par tout le pais ne fesoit l'en nul sacrement] F03 *lacks*; sacrement] sacrement ne nulls droiture de Sainte Eglise F53 F58 F64; pour les sacrileges...sacrement] et ne administroit on le sacrement a parsonne qui voulut morir ne les mettre en terre sainte ne ne disoit on ne messe ne riens F65.
 853 fors] fors que F53 F58.
 854 baptizier] de batier F72.
 855 les] et les F50.
 856 les enfans] F52 F60 *lack*.
 857 confesser] conforter F34.
 858 pour les sacrileges...malades] F36 *lacks*.
 859 A] en F36 F43 F65.
 860 virent] vindrent F53 F54 F61 F65.
 861 li] que li F57.
 862 li preudome] les sages F44.
 863 du reaume] F43 F51 *lack*; de la terre F60 F61 F62 F63 F65; preudome du reaume] baron F52 λ1 λ2.
 864 de Surie] F34 F46 *lack*; Surie] surie et virent F53; Surie a la fin virent li baron de Surie F54.
 865 cilz] li F55.
 866 que cilz aferes] la chose F44; de Surie que cilz aferes] que cil aferes de Surie F51.
 867 pas] mie F03 F31 F35 F48; pas bien F33.
 868 durer] F43 *lacks*.
 869 peril] F03 *lacks*; pas longuement durer sans grant peril] a bon aler F34.
 870 Si] pource F44.
 871 la] F30 F46 F48 F60 F62 F69 F71 F74 *lack*; devers le prince Buimont F44.
 872 virent li preudome...accort] A la fin le roy Bauduin et li preudome envoierent vers lui F36; par commun accort] F44 *lacks*.

Jherusalem,⁸⁷³ Renaut⁸⁷⁴ de Chastellon qui⁸⁷⁵ avoit este prince d'Antioche et parrastres⁸⁷⁶ a⁸⁷⁷ cellui⁸⁷⁸ Buimont,⁸⁷⁹ le⁸⁸⁰ mestre⁸⁸¹ du Temple frere⁸⁸² Arnaut⁸⁸³ de Toroge,⁸⁸⁴ le⁸⁸⁵ mestre de l'Ospital frere⁸⁸⁶ Rogier de Mores.⁸⁸⁷ A ceus fu commandé que ilz essaiaissent⁸⁸⁸ en toutes⁸⁸⁹ manieres⁸⁹⁰ se ilz povrroient⁸⁹¹ apaiser du⁸⁹² tout⁸⁹³ ce⁸⁹⁴ grant⁸⁹⁵ trouble, qui estoit en la terre de Antioche, ou au mains i⁸⁹⁶ meissent tel conseil que cil mal cessassent une piece du tens.⁸⁹⁷ Car li prodome⁸⁹⁸ avoient⁸⁹⁹ grant⁹⁰⁰ paour⁹⁰¹ que la parole⁹⁰² en⁹⁰³

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- 873 que cilz aferes...Jherusalem] devers le patriarche de jherusalem et virent que la chose ne pouvoit longuement durer et lui prierent F65.
- 874 Renaut] et Renaut F34 F48 F72.
- 875 qui] qui par avant F44.
- 876 parrastres] autres F57 F73.
- 877 et parrastres a] a cause de da femme mere de F44.
- 878 a cellui] F30 *lacks*; a celui a celui F63.
- 879 et parrastres a cellui Buimont] F54 *lacks*.
- 880 le] et le F48 λ2.
- 881 mestre] maistre de l'ospital frere rogier F63.
- 882 frere] F51 *lacks*.
- 883 Arnaut] hermans F53.
- 884 Arnaut de Toroges] F36 F44 *lack*; Hernart de Tor Rouge F50; Renaut de Cororges F72; Toroge] Corote F60; Torote F62.
- 885 le] et le F36 F44 F48 F49 F69 F71 F78.
- 886 frere] F36 F44 F52 F57 F73 F77 *lack*; et frere F47; qui fu frere F62.
- 887 Mores] Marches F31; Moreul F53; Mores au prince Buyemont F54; Rogier de Mores] F36 F46 F44 F49 F69 F71 *lack*.
- 888 essaiaissent] assaens F53.
- 889 toutes] maintes F43.
- 890 en toutes manieres] F53 F58 F64 *lack*; Renaut de Chastellon...en toutes manieres] F65 *lacks*.
- 891 se ilz povrroient] F42 *lacks*; que il pleust F65; povrroient] poroient essaiaer F72.
- 892 du] tres F62.
- 893 apaiser du tout] du tout apaisier F30; du tout] F53 F58 F72 *lack*.
- 894 du toute ce] F34 *lacks*; du tout ce] ce prince du F65; A ceus fu commandé...ce] pour essayer a reduire et vamenéz le prince d'Antioche a bones œuvres et le F44.
- 895 grant] grant home qui avoit fait teil F30.
- 896 i] F30 F34 F63 *lack*.
- 897 de Antioche ou...tens] F65 *lacks*.
- 898 li prodome] ilz F65.
- 899 avoient] estoient en Fo6; en avoient λ2.
- 900 grant] si grant F65.
- 901 avoient grant paour] grant paor avoient F44.
- 902 parole] nouvelles F44.
- 903 en] ne Fo6 F54; F42 F64 *lack*; n'en F44 F45 F48 F51 F60 F72.

alast⁹⁰⁴ outre mer a⁹⁰⁵ l'apostoille⁹⁰⁶ et⁹⁰⁷ au Reaume de France et⁹⁰⁸ que l'en meist⁹⁰⁹ sus a ceus de la terre⁹¹⁰ que ilz consentissent⁹¹¹ les⁹¹² maus⁹¹³ que li princes fesoit.⁹¹⁴ Pour ce vouldrent⁹¹⁵ moustrer appertement⁹¹⁶ que ilz⁹¹⁷ ne se acordoient mie⁹¹⁸ a lui aincois leur⁹¹⁹ desplaisoit moult sa vie.⁹²⁰ Li patriarches prist avecques lui des⁹²¹ prelaz de Sainte Eglise⁹²² les⁹²³ plus sages⁹²⁴ et les⁹²⁵ plus⁹²⁶ religieux.⁹²⁷ Aubert⁹²⁸ l'evesque⁹²⁹ de Bethleem, l'eslit⁹³⁰ de Cesaire⁹³¹ qui avoit⁹³² nom Moines,⁹³³ Renault⁹³⁴ l'abbé de Monte Syon,⁹³⁵ Perron⁹³⁶ le prieur⁹³⁷ du

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- 904 alast] n'alast Fo6 F61 F65; en alast] n'alast λ2.
 905 a] jusqu'a F62.
 906 l'apostoille] Romme au sanct père F37; saint pere F42 F65; saint pere de Romme F44.
 907 et] F33 *lacks*; ne F43.
 908 et] F33 λ2 *lack*; ne F43.
 909 meist] ne meist F43 F62 F63 F64; ne deist F44.
 910 terre] roaume de Surie F34.
 911 consentissent] ne consentissent F43 F60; estoient consentans F44.
 912 les] se il F34; des F44.
 913 que ilz consentissent les maus] F58 *lacks*.
 914 fesoit] avoit faiz et faisoit et F44.
 915 vouldrent] volstrent F38; vostrent F50; vorent F72.
 916 appertement] euidaument F42; F48 *lacks*.
 917 ilz] point F44.
 918 mie] pas F54 F72 λ2; F50 *lacks*.
 919 leur] F50 *lacks*.
 920 A ceus fu commandé...vie] F36 *lacks*; moult sa vie] ses œuvres F44.
 921 des] les F72.
 922 Sainte Eglise] Surie F44.
 923 les] des F72.
 924 des prelaz de...sages] des plus sages prelaz F48.
 925 les] des F72.
 926 plus] F32 F37 F40 F47 *lack*.
 927 des prelas de Sainte Eglise...religieux] des plus sages homes et des plus relegieus prelatz F34; F36 *lacks*; les plus sages et les plus religieux] ceste assavoir F44; religieux] religious que il avoit souz soi F48; et les plus religieux] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.
 928 Aubert] F34 *lacks*.
 929 l'evesque] F43 F45 F51 *lack*.
 930 l'eslit] l'evesque F42.
 931 de Cesaire] et des autres F43 F45 F51; de saiette F54.
 932 avoit] out F43 F51.
 933 qui avoit nom Moines] F34 F44 F48 *lack*.
 934 Moines; Renault] Renauz li moines Fo6.
 935 Syon] liuet F73.
 936 Perron] Pierre F42 F44 F53 F58 F64; F54 *lacks*.
 937 prieur] maistre F53 F58 F64; empereur F55.

Sepuchre.⁹³⁸ Ilz⁹³⁹ s'en alerent tuit ensemble⁹⁴⁰ par⁹⁴¹ la terre au⁹⁴² conte⁹⁴³ de Triple et le⁹⁴⁴ menerent avec eus pour ce qu'il estoit acointe⁹⁴⁵ du prince et cuiderent⁹⁴⁶ que ses paroles le deussent⁹⁴⁷ mouvoir a⁹⁴⁸ bien fere.⁹⁴⁹ Ilz vindrent⁹⁵⁰ vers⁹⁵¹ Antioche⁹⁵² et⁹⁵³ troverent le prince⁹⁵⁴ et le patriarche⁹⁵⁵ que il orent⁹⁵⁶ fet venir⁹⁵⁷ a la Lische.⁹⁵⁸

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- 938 Sepuchre] Sepulcre te autres sages et religieux hommes F44; Sepulcre et Huitace li dean de Charmentré F45; Aubert l'evesque de...Sepuchre] F65 *lacks*.
- 939 ilz] et F65.
- 940 ilz s'en alerent tuit ensemble] a chemin se mistrent et vindrent F44; ensemble] F53 F55 F58 F64 F65 *lack*.
- 941 par] en F60 F61 F62; F63 *lacks*.
- 942 au] le F50 λ2; du F57 F60; par la terre au] devers le F65.
- 943 la terre au conte] la conte F36.
- 944 le] le conte F36.
- 945 acointe] privé F36.
- 946 cuiderent] pource F61 F65.
- 947 deussent] seussent F60 F61 F62 F63 F65.
- 948 a] a aucun F72.
- 949 le deussent mouvoir a bien fere] y peussent servir F44; et cuiderent que...fere] F53 F58 F64 *lack*.
- 950 vindrent] vin F72.
- 951 vers] en F48 F57.
- 952 et cuiderent que...Antioche] F36 *lacks*.
- 953 et] Ilz F36; Ilz vindrent vers Antioche et] En la cité d'Antioche arriverent ou ilz F44.
- 954 et cuiderent que...prince] F30 *lacks*.
- 955 et le patriarche] F44 *lacks*.
- 956 orent] eut F30.
- 957 venir] mener F70 F72.
- 958 que il orent fet venir a La lische] F36 F42 F44 F65 *lack*.

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